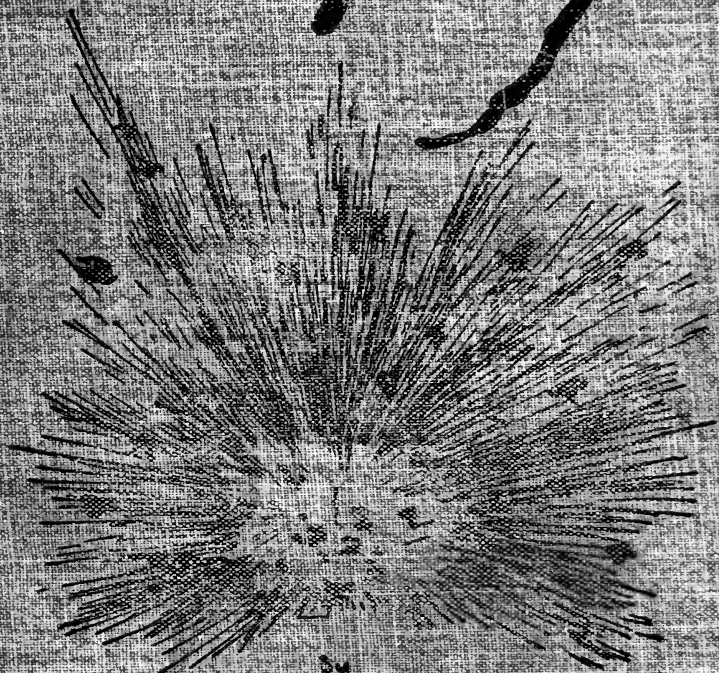


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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# The Anarchist Peril



By  
John Dubois.

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*THE ANARCHIST PERIL*



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THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE RÉVOLTE.

# THE ANARCHIST PERIL

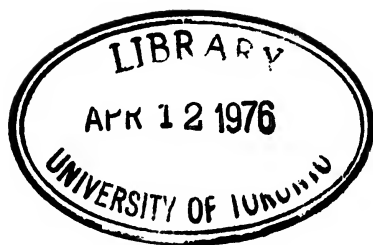
BY FÉLIX DUBOIS

*TRANSLATED, EDITED AND  
ENLARGED WITH A SUP-  
PLEMENTARY CHAPTER*

BY RALPH DERECHEF

LONDON: T. FISHER UNWIN  
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# THE ANARCHIST PERIL.



## CHAPTER I.

### BAKOUNINE AND THE ORIGIN OF THE ANARCHIST PARTY.

ABOUT the year 1841, a young Russian aristocrat arrived at Berlin. Educated at the school for cadets in St. Petersburg, he had been for a brief period an officer in the army; but in 1835 he had thrown up his commission. He was then twenty-one—an age when most soldiers are dreaming only of war and military honours. He, on the contrary, was pondering over the writings of Hegel and Schopenhauer. This eccentric stripling was none other than Prince Michael Bakounine, the future founder of the Anarchist party.

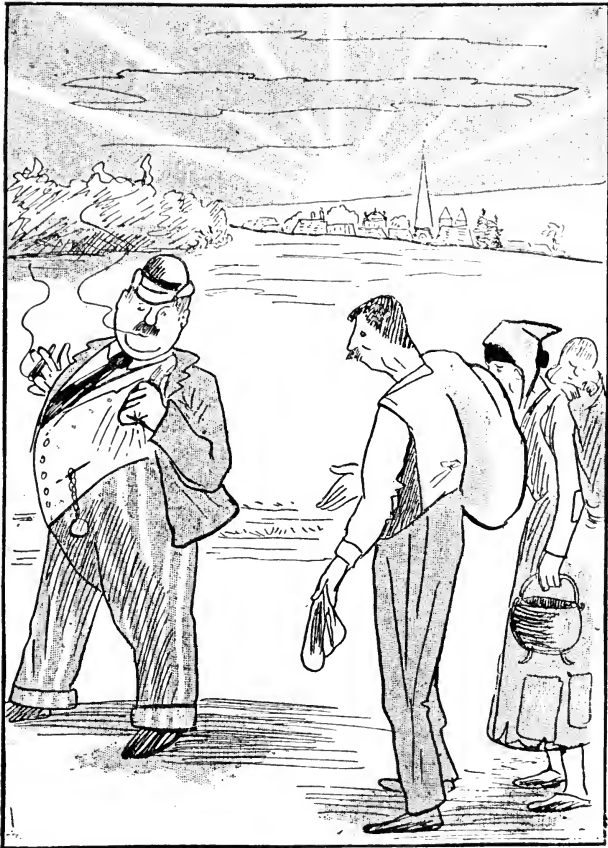
On quitting the army, he established himself at Moscow, where he frequented the society of a group of young men, who were endeavouring to penetrate the nebulous and gloomy doctrines of the two German philosophers, studying them passionately, while they watched with attention the intellectual movement of Western Europe. Several members of this circle were destined later on to become

known to fame in various ways. Alexander Herzen, the novelist and notorious Russian revolutionist, who founded the *Kolokol* at London; G. Bjelinski, a writer and journalist famous for his talented advocacy of advanced opinions; the brothers Aksakoff, who played so important a part in the Panslavist movement; and, finally, Katkoff, who, as editor of the *Moscow Gazette* and head of the old Russian party, became more widely known than any of his companions-in-arms.

The twofold current of opinion which prevailed at this period amongst the friends and associates of the youthful Bakounine was destined to influence him throughout the whole of his earlier career. Not until thirty years later did he declare his definite adherence to one of these two diametrically opposite schools of thought, and entirely sever his connection with the other.

At one moment of his life we see him a fervent and militant Panslavist, a co-worker with Katkoff and the Aksakoffs, linking his name so closely with their cause as to deceive the editor of Larousse's well-known encyclopædia in which, in his biographical notice, he is actually dubbed "a Russian patriot." At other times he appears in the guise of an advanced socialist and revolutionary, side by side with Alexander Herzen. In point of fact, he hovered between these conflicting views, as divergent as the poles, until, in his fiftieth year, he joined the International, of which more anon.

It is to be remarked that his conduct throughout conveys the impression that he was utterly destitute of ideas of his own on either philosophical, political, or social subjects. He was influenced by his friends, while his own personal influence was practically nil.



“I can do nothing for you, my good fellow ; . . . you should follow my example, and work ” (*Père Peinard*).

This want of character on the part of the founder of the Anarchist party is as strange as it is undeniable. In truth his only claim to originality was his boundless ambition, and the one genuine conviction by which he was guided was his feverish desire to force himself into notoriety. He was determined to play a prominent part, but he was indifferent as to what part he played and as to the means which were to bring him into notice.

That this was the case we shall proceed to show.

His first care on arriving at Berlin was to put himself into communication with the followers of Hegel. In this way he became intimately acquainted with Arnold Ruge, the most prominent of the disciples of the great philosopher. Ruge, at the time, was the editor of the *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, a review published at Dresden and which is still in existence. Social and humanitarian subjects were discussed in this publication, but it was more especially noted, and very cordially disapproved of, by the vast majority of Germans, for the anti-patriotic opinions of the writers who aired their views in its pages. These opinions, it may be said, underwent subsequently a radical change. Ruge from a socialist became a republican, and it was while sailing under these colours that, in conjunction with Ledru-Rollin, and Mazzini, he was a member of what was known during the revolutionary epoch as the Democratic Committee of Central Europe. Finally, in 1866, he blossomed forth as a supporter of the policy of Bismarck.

Bakounine owes to Ruge his initiation into the doctrines of Socialism. Karl Blind, the famous German revolutionary, who was well acquainted with Bakounine and had every opportunity to study

his character, gives the following picture of him at this period :—

“ In his conversation Bakounine was fond of making use of the obscure phraseology of Hegel a phraseology so obscure that the contending parties the revolutionaries and the conservatives, were both in the habit of having recourse to it ; the former to defend and the latter to decry the general upheaval which was to precede the inauguration of the Golden Age.

“ Bakounine distinguished himself by professing the most extreme negative philosophy, and by clamouring in extravagant terms for the destruction of all existing institutions. As well as to Hegel, he appealed for support for his views to the writings of Goethe—the most conservative of conservative politicians—appropriating to his purpose the pessimist maxims which in ‘Faust,’ the poet of Weimar puts in the mouth of Mephistopheles. He was specially fond of quoting the well-known lines :

“ ‘ Und alles was besteht, is werth dass es zu Grunde geht ;  
Drumm besser waer’s, dass nichts entstuede ! ’ ” <sup>1</sup>

Even in this adaptation of Goethe’s words to his own ends Bakounine was not original. Before him, Max Stirner had found a motto for his nihilist-anarchist philosophy in the works of the great German author. From the joyous ballad entitled “Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas” he had borrowed this verse,

“ Ich hab’ mein’ Sach’ auf Nichts gestellt ! ” <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “ Whatever exists deserves to be destroyed. It would be better then that nothing came into being.”

<sup>2</sup> “ I have based my existence on nothingness.”



and inscribed it on the first page of his book, "The Future of the Individual."

This work, which created a great sensation on its appearance, is now forgotten. It deserves, however, to be recalled as it is the first avowedly anarchist publication. Written in a trenchant, vigorous style, it gives an excellent exposition of the individualist part of the anarchist doctrine. Stirner declared that the State, and with it every social institution, must be abolished. A number of groups free to act in every respect as they think fit will take its place. The individual members of a group in their relation with each other will not be bound to observe rules of any description. Constraint of any kind will be unknown. Every one will be at liberty to follow his own inclinations. No weight is to be attached to considerations of what in the present state of society is known as duty.

Max Stirner, however, was solely and simply a philosophic student of social problems. He lacked the gift so indispensable for the successful propagation of abstract theories, of exciting sympathy. This talent Bakounine possessed in a high degree. Stirner, again, was not a man of action. Neither when the Revolution broke out in Germany in 1849, nor later, did it occur to those who shared his views to hail him as a leader. Indeed he ended his days in the most peaceable fashion possible, to wit, as a market-gardener.

Theoretically, then, as we have shown, Bakounine professed himself a pessimist, a socialist, and an advocate of internationalism. It is interesting to note how surprisingly at variance his actions were with his words.

Leaving Dresden, and separating himself from his friend Ruge, he passed into Switzerland, and thence into France. At Paris, in his anxiety to lose no opportunity of bringing himself into prominence, he took it upon him to champion the cause of Poland. It is permissible to ask of what conceivable moment to an internationalist could be the reconstitution of that kingdom. But his vagaries did not stop here. In June, 1848, he suddenly appeared at the famous Panslavist Congress held at Prague.

Now, if the principles of nationalism were ever proclaimed in no undecided manner, it was assuredly on this occasion. Slavs from Russia, from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, from Eastern Prussia, and from Turkey were invited to lend weight to the cause by their presence at this demonstration. The Vladika of Montenegro, notoriously in the pay of the Czar ; the ambassador of the reigning prince of Servia, and several Servian ecclesiastics ; Palacky, the Czech historian ; Schafarik, the great Slavonic philologist, and a number of Russians of high birth, all of them wearing Russian decorations, and as far removed from being democrats as possible, were amongst those present at the gathering.

It is not surprising that his revolutionary friends were somewhat astounded at the presence of Bakounine in an assembly in which that most autocratic of rulers the Czar was so well represented, nor was their bewilderment lessened when they saw him favouring so ultra-nationalist a cause as that of Panslavism. It was hard to reconcile his attitude with his profession of socialism and of cosmopolitan tendencies. The immediate result of the congress was an insurrection, which was suppressed by force.

Bakounine thought it well to disappear for a time.

The nickname of "the mysterious Russian," by which he was long known, dates from this period. It was remarked that he was frequently undertaking long journeys and spending money lavishly in other ways, though all the while, so far as was known, he was without means. He was regarded in consequence with a great deal of suspicion, and this feeling was intensified by his conduct in 1849.

In that year he reappeared in Saxony, fixing his residence for a time at Leipsic, where he surrounded himself with Czech students, and did his best to provoke a fresh rising in Bohemia. His most intimate friends have placed it on record that he was in constant communication with Panslavist agents hailing from Prague. He even attempted to interest his friend Roedel, a member of the Saxon Parliament, in his schemes.

At this juncture the revolution broke out in Saxony. Bakounine hastened to Dresden and took a prominent part in the insurrection, with a view, as is clear from the testimony of Roedel, to turn the movement to account in furthering the Panslavist cause. Made prisoner during a skirmish, he was condemned to death. What followed was of a nature to confirm, for good and all, the suspicions of which he had previously been the object. The Austrian authorities demanded that "the mysterious Russian," on the eve of his being shot, should be handed over to them to answer for his share in the Czech rebellion. Tried a second time, he was once more condemned to death. Before, however, the sentence was carried out, he was again claimed; this time by Russia, though on

what grounds it was hard to determine. The request was nevertheless complied with, and, according to the usually accepted version of what passed, Bakounine was sentenced yet again to suffer the extreme penalty of the law. What is certain is that he was not executed. After being imprisoned in the fortress of Schlüsselberg, he was sent in 1852 to Siberia.

Not unnaturally, his friends, the German revolutionaries, denounced him as a traitor. It was impossible to understand how, on any other supposition, he could have escaped with his life, when so many of his comrades less deeply incriminated than himself had died on the scaffold. Dubious reports were in circulation, moreover, concerning his escape from Siberia. According to some accounts he had purchased his freedom by betraying his fellow exiles ; according to others he had humbled himself to the extent of imploring a pardon. In any case, whatever the truth might be, the Russian revolutionaries who had taken refuge in London held up his name to universal execration.

What reliance is to be placed in the charges made against him cannot at present be definitely ascertained. The archives of the Russian Foreign Office could alone throw light on the subject. Guilty or innocent Bakounine reappeared on the scene in 1861, when he visited London.

Once more we go to Karl Blind for the following portrait of him at this period of his career : "In 1861, the personal appearance of the Russian ex-officer was not in his favour. Those who had known him during the troubles of 1848 and 1849 could hardly recognise him. The shapely, slender young man of those earlier days had grown stout to unwieldiness. His

swollen features, disfigured by an extraordinary growth of hair and beard, lent an almost bearish aspect to his countenance. He made no profession whatever of anarchist opinions, but gave himself out to be a revolutionary democrat of socialistic tendencies."

His immense power of seduction was almost all that remained to him of the qualities which had



BAKOUNINE.

*(From a portrait circulated by the Anarchist party.)*

distinguished his youth. He still possessed the art of winning the confidence and sympathy of all who approached him without being previously prejudiced. His conversation was as insinuating as ever, if much of his old charm of manner had vanished.

In 1862, Bakounine resumed his advocacy of Pan Slavism. "The Slavs," he wrote in his brochure "Romanoff and Pugatcheff," "will be doing a good work and a necessary work in waging war with the Germans. It is our duty to free our brothers in



Poland, Lithuania, and Ukraine. We must unite to deliver the Slavs who groan under the yoke of Teutons and Turks. Let us ally ourselves with Italy, Hungary, Roumania, and Greece against Prussia, Austria, and Turkey. Our aim should be the foundation of a strong and free Panslavist federation."

This outburst was his last in favour of Panslavism. Entering now on his fiftieth year, he decided at length to give a definite turn to his career. Had he been able to foresee the vast influence that was destined to reward the efforts of Katkoff and of the brothers Aksakoff, there is no doubt that he would have thrown in his lot with the Panslavists. He was blinded by his ambition. Towards 1864 he finally abandoned his old faith, and revealed himself an out-and-out revolutionary and internationalist. He followed up his conversion by migrating to Switzerland, where he conceived he would be less hampered by his past.

The year 1865 saw the foundation of the International Association of Workers. The original programme of the association was the study of social and economic problems, to be followed by the dissemination of the conclusions the society might arrive at.

Bakounine had little or no faith in the future of this scheme. Just as he had been unable to bring himself to believe in the prospects of Panslavism, so he failed to realise at first what a marvellous instrument this association of the workers of all countries might become in the hands of a skilful and ambitious agitator. He took no steps, in consequence, to identify himself with it at the time of its foundation.

When it dawned upon him what capital could be made out of it, it was too late. He found that a redoubtable rival had been beforehand with him.

The man he saw himself pitted against was Karl Marx. Not one whit less ambitious and far more circumspect than Bakounine, Marx was to boot the intellectual superior of his rival, and could point to an unstained past. From the very beginning he had foreseen to what excellent purpose the International—the name by which the Association of Workers was soon known—could be turned, and he had taken care to be one of its first adherents. It was not long before the society, founded as has been said, to investigate social and economic questions, was transformed into a political organisation, devoted to the defence and propagation of socialist doctrines. In 1868 when Bakounine recognised the mistake he had made and was eager to repair it, Marx had already acquired a predominant influence over the destinies of the association.

All-powerful in the General Council of the International, Marx, who had good reasons for regarding “the mysterious Russian” with suspicion, refused him admission into the society. Bakounine did not accept this defeat as final. Taking up the gauntlet that Marx had thrown down, he armed himself for the conflict by founding the International Alliance of the Socialist Democracy, which proved the nucleus of that Federation of the Jura from which sprung, four years later, the Anarchist party.

On the occasion of the fourth Congress of the International, held at Basle in 1869, it was clear that Bakounine’s position had already sensibly improved. In the face of Marx and his partisans he secured the

Comment le travailleur est volé



“The Way the Worker is Robbed—by force and fraud.”  
(Père Peinard.)

voting of the following declaration, in which the theories of Stirner are combined with those of Proudhon :—

“I vote for the transfer to the community of the land in particular, and in general of all social wealth by virtue of a social liquidation.

“By ‘social liquidation’ I mean: the legal expropriation of all the actual holders of wealth by the abolition of the State and the existing polity as established by law, which are the only sanction and the sole guarantee of property as it at present exists; and the actual expropriation of the said holders of wealth, wherever possible, and as far as possible, and as soon as possible, by the force of events and circumstances.”

As regards the organisation of the society of the future, considering that all productive labour is necessarily collective labour, for whatever is produced by the labour of the individual is only produced thanks to the collective labour of all generations past and present, Bakounine advocates communism.

“I am the resolute antagonist,” he declared, “of the State and of all class distinctions. I demand the destruction of all States, both national and territorial, and on their ruins the foundation of an international community of workers.”

Bakounine followed up this first success by scoring a second at a divisional congress of the International, the congress of the Swiss branch of the society held in 1876 at Chaux-de-Fonds. He forced the partisans of Marx to withdraw from the assembly, and proceeded to found the Federation of the Jura. Backed by this organisation, he endeavoured to measure himself with Marx in a struggle that should settle once for all the

question of their supremacy. Gauging the situation with perfect accuracy, he realised that he would never succeed in dislodging Marx from the General Council of the International. Even had this step been possible, he could never have taken his discomfited rival's place. Moved by these considerations, he aimed from this time forth at nothing less than the suppression of the Council itself. For this measure he contrived to find an ingenious pretext. He came forward with a new scheme of social renovation.

Marx's conception of the society of the future was that of a centralised democratic State: he was in favour of a central authority. Bakounine, on the other hand, advocated the free federation of the free industrial and agricultural associations: he gave to his system the name of "Anti-Authoritative Federalism." The two schemes were mutually destructive. In the same way it was impossible for their authors to exist side by side. Furthermore the adoption by the International of Bakounine's doctrine of the abolition of all authority would logically result in the disappearance of its own General Council.

The issue at any rate was now clear. The society had to choose between Marx and Bakounine. What decision it would come to was not so plain.

Marx had been guilty of one grave error. Carried away by the bent of his character, he had shown himself too autocratic in his direction of the International. Bakounine saw that his dictatorial proceedings, and his attempts to foist his son-in-law and even his daughters upon the General Council had aroused a strong feeling of opposition. He at once set to work to rally around himself the discontented. Posing as the upholder of liberty in the face of an attempted

dictatorship, he attacked Marx in his paper the *Bulletin of the Federation of the Jura*. But this journalistic warfare did not long satisfy him. His wish was to find himself face to face with his rival. To effect his purpose, he forced the General Council to call together a fifth congress of the International.

The congress was duly opened in 1872, but at the Hague. This choice of its place of meeting was a blow for which Bakounine had to thank Marx. The Russian, as has been said, was residing in Switzerland, and to reach Holland he would have been obliged to cross French or German territory. This he could not do as in both countries he was liable to arrest. By this skilful manœuvre Marx was successful in excluding his enemy from the congress. In the absence of his most redoubtable foe, Marx had things to a great extent his own way, and the victory remained with him.

Bakounine and his party, however, would not for a moment acknowledge this defeat as final. The following year the Federation of the Jura convoked at Geneva the sixth congress of the International. The result was the triumph of Bakounine, the assembly voting the abolition of the General Council.

The overthrow of Marx was an accomplished fact. The International shared his fate. With its disappearance the field was clear for the rise of Bakounine's system of a Federalism involving the denial of all authority, a system which embraces the two theoretical conceptions that clearly distinguish the doctrine of anarchism from collectivism, possibilism, and all other socialist and revolutionary ideals of society.

So much for Bakounine and his work from an historical point of view. The man is scarcely of the

stamp one would expect to find associated with the birth of a party. He is not a man of new conceptions, or of an original cast of thought. Nor is he a man of acute and subtle intellect. His character is full of imperfections and very far indeed from stainless. Undoubtedly he was deeply imbued with revolutionary tendencies, but until he reached the age of fifty years he was undecided whether he should devote his energies to the promotion of a political and ethnographical or of the social revolution.

More than anything else, he was a man of limitless ambition, who was aided in attaining his ends by a naturally combative nature and an undeniable power of seduction.

He has been painted in very different colours by the anarchists themselves, who seem, even the best of them, to have yielded to the very bourgeois temptation of extolling their forerunners at the expense of veracity. For instance, Carlo Cafiero and Elisée Reclus have thought it necessary to speak of Bakounine in the following extraordinary terms :—

“Both the friends and foes of this man are aware that he was great by virtue of his power of thought (!), his strength of will, and his untiring energy. They are equally aware of his lofty contempt for fortune, for rank (!), for glory, for all those paltry trifles, in short for which the majority of human beings are degraded enough to long. A Russian gentleman by birth, related to the most noble families of his country, he was yet one of the first (!) to throw in his lot with that band of heroes who, in open revolt against society, were large-minded enough to rid themselves of their social traditions and prejudices, to sacrifice their class interests, and to despise what in the eyes

of the ignorant majority is of most account in life. In their company he fought the battle of existence, suffering imprisonment and exile, and exposing himself to the dangers and trials which inevitably fall to the share of devoted men in the course of their troubled career."

To talk of "dangers" in connection with Bakounine, who, though condemned to death on three occasions, escaped execution; to see in this fervent Panslavist and enthusiastic champion of the Polish cause, a man "free from racial prejudices;" to remember his rivalry with Karl Marx, and yet believe in his "contempt for rank;" and, finally, to pretend that he was distinguished by his powers of thought—is to take most unwarrantable liberties with hard facts.

From no point of view was Bakounine weaker than as a thinker. Not only is it impossible to attribute to him the discovery of the philosophic theories which lie at the root of anarchism, or of the method of their application to the solution of the social problem; but even after these fundamental principles had been developed, he was unable to bring an original idea to bear upon them, or to assist in their elaboration by coming forward with a single purely personal conception. To such an extent was this the case, that for long none of his books found a place in the recognised anarchist propagandist literature. His book, "God and the State," has only been published quite recently, owing to the initiative of one of his admirers, who arranged for its issue at his own expense.

Anarchism has to thank Bakounine for the foundation and organisation of the party, and for nothing else. Moreover that he accomplished even this much



is due to the merest chance, or rather to a dual chance. It was by chance alone that "the mysterious Russian" ultimately identified himself with the revolutionary cause rather than with Panslavism. On the other hand, when once enrolled in the ranks of the revolutionaries, if he had not been confronted with the rival claims of Marx, it is more than doubtful that he would ever have assumed the extreme attitude that has made him famous.

Naturally the anarchists themselves are unwilling to admit the preponderant part played by hazard in the foundation of their party. They would like to be able to point to a Mahomet or a Luther presiding over the birth of their theories, and marshalling them to victory. Worshippers as they profess to be of whatever is new, it is a pity that they have not decided to take the novel step of portraying the founder of their party as he really was. They have chosen instead to attempt to surround with a halo the slippery, ill-defined, and ambiguous figure of Bakounine. It is necessary to protest strongly against this perversion of history.

## CHAPTER II.

### TWENTY YEARS OF ANARCHISM.

1874-1894.

BAKOUNINE died in Switzerland on July 1, 1876, without having seen the definite triumph or at least the remarkable development of his work, that was near at hand. Elisée Reclus, Paul Brousse, Joukowski, J. Guillaume, and Salvioni, were among those who gathered round his grave. In October of the same year the members of the extreme revolutionary party met at Berne. This congress proved to be of capital importance in the history of anarchism. At it, the Paris Commune was denounced as a type of government from which the principle of authority was not entirely eliminated. It was pointed out that the Communists had been guilty of retaining a certain administrative system — an unpardonable crime. Having delivered itself of this astounding expression of opinion, the assembly proceeded to reduce all revolutionary and social theories to their most simple and final expression, to find, in other words, the formula of anarchism ; a doctrine which may be said to date its definite existence from this attempt.

The anarchist doctrine comprises two very distinct

conceptions. The first, which is entirely negative, involves the destruction of all existing institutions. A clean sweep is to be made of the entire fabric of society. To put this tenet in the form of a proposition, the anarchist declares—*All things are at an end.*

(1) There is an end to property. War to the knife against capital, against every description of privilege, and against the exploitation of one man by another.

(2) There is an end to all distinctions of country. There shall be no such thing as frontiers or international conflicts.

(3) There is an end to the State. Every form of authority, elected or not, dynastic or parliamentary, shall go by the board.

The second part of the anarchist creed is affirmative. Any organisation of society whatsoever, proceeding on no matter what lines, having been decreed in direct contradiction to the anarchist Idea, it is evident that the social revolution, if it is to escape being a fresh exploitation of the individual, must have no other aim than to create a community in which the individual shall enjoy absolute independence, obeying simply and solely the behests of his own will, and fettered by no obligations imposed upon him by the will of his neighbour, for any restraint of this latter description would undermine the very foundations of the system. Hence are deduced the two propositions which comprise the whole affirmative portion of the anarchist doctrine :

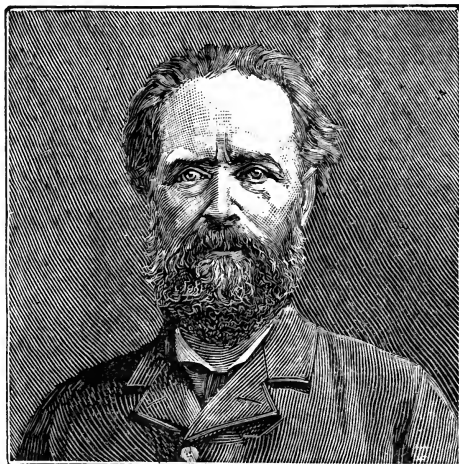
(1) Do what you choose.

(2) Everything is everybody's. That is to say, the entire wealth of the community is there for each individual to take from it what he requires.

These two primary and paramount principles being

secured, there are to be no further theoretical developments or limitations.

It is of interest to note that at this congress two Italian delegates, Carlo Cafiero and Enrico Malatesta, read a declaration in which recourse to violence as a means of spreading anarchist ideas is advocated for the first time. "The Italian Federation," they announced, "is of opinion that open rebellion, resorted



ELISÉE RECLUS.

to with a view to back up by deeds the profession of socialist principles, is the only effective method of propagating the doctrine."

The party was quick to obey this recommendation to suit the action to the word. In April, 1877, a socialist revolution broke out in the Italian province of Benevento. Cafiero, Malatesta, and Ceccarelli, at the head of some thirty followers, burnt the archives at Letino and San Galo, and laying hands on what arms

and money they could find, distributed them to the populace.

From this time forth the anarchists are a definitely constituted party. Their doctrine is clearly formulated, and they have decided on the tactics they are going to adopt in the war they are about to wage against society. Taking up the history of the party at this point, we propose to trace it year by year, and to indicate in a succinct chronological sketch its steady progress.

**1877.** Kropotkin, under the name of Levachof, appears on the scene at the revolutionary congress held at Verviers.

**1878.** The publication of the *Avant-Garde*, the first anarchist organ, is commenced under the direction of Brousse and Kropotkin. Nobeling and Hödel commit their outrages in Germany, Hödel proclaiming himself an anarchist. The cooper Moncasi attempts the life of Alphonso XII., and Passanante that of the King of Italy. A congress of anarchists is held at Friburg. A letter is read there from Elisée Reclus in which the proposal is made to appoint a commission to draw up a reply to the three following questions :

“Why are we—(1) revolutionaries ; (2) anarchists ; (3) collectivists ?”

“We are revolutionaries,” E. Reclus went on to declare, “because we desire justice. . . . Progress has never resulted from mere peaceful evolution ; it has always been the outcome of a sudden revolution. The necessary preliminary preparation of the minds of men may be a gradual process, but the realisation of their hopes comes abruptly and as a surprise. . . . We are anarchists who recognise no one as our

master, as we are ourselves the masters of nobody. There is no such thing as morality without liberty. . . . We are also international collectivists, for we are aware that the very existence of human beings necessarily implies a certain social grouping. . . ."

The proposal of Reclus is adopted by the congress, which pronounces in favour—with regard to principles—(1) of the appropriation by the community of all wealth; (2) of the abolition of the State, conceived in any form whatsoever, even in that of a central administrative agency; and, with regard to means—(1) of the dissemination of anarchist theories; and (2) of open rebellion and revolutionary action. Finally, it was decreed that universal suffrage, or indeed the possession of a vote under any conditions whatever, could never bring about the so-called sovereignty of the people, while as a means to that end it was liable to encourage the growth of grave abuses.

**1879.** The *Avant-Garde* ceasing to appear, Kropotkin, Dumartheray, and Herzig start a new paper, the *Révolution*, at Geneva. At a congress held at Chaux-de-Fonds, Kropotkin advocates recourse to violence. A number of the Paris Communists obtain their pardon. A congress of working men at Marseilles passes a resolution in favour of expropriation without compensation, and of the collective appropriation of land and all capital.

**1880.** The attempt of Ottero Gonzales on the life of Alphonso XII. At a congress of anarchists in Switzerland, Kropotkin advises the adoption of the term "communistic anarchism" in the place of "collectivism." This proposal was the result of an attempt that had been made to give to "collectivism" a different signification to that it had previously

borne. Kropotkine insists on the necessity of attempting to convert the peasantry to anarchist doctrines, pointing out that it will be impossible for the revolution to succeed until the industrial worker has the support of the country labourer.

**1881.** On the 22nd of May a Labour Congress opens in Paris. The anarchist delegates withdraw from the assembly, leaving masters of the situation the collectivists and socialists, who still trust to the vote to invest them with political power. A congress of anarchists, held at London in July, insists on the necessity of supplementing, by recourse to violence, the propagation of anarchist doctrines by agitation. Kropotkine is expelled from Switzerland on account of his incendiary speeches in London.

**1882.** Sudden extension of the movement in the south-east of France, more especially at Lyons, where a newspaper, *Le Droit Social*, is founded. In its columns, Jean Grave, under the pseudonym of Jehan le Vagre, publishes his first work, "Society the Day after the Revolution." Disturbances at Montceau-les-Mines. Further troubles at the same place were followed by wholesale arrests of anarchists, including Émile Gautier, Grave, Crié, Vaillat, &c. Marseilles and Creuzot are placarded with revolutionary posters. Fresh arrests at Mâcon, Lyons, Paris, Vienne, and Annonay. Numerous discoveries of dynamite reported. The Lyons authorities receive threatening letters. The two daughters of Elisée Reclus ostentatiously contract "free marriages." Louise Michel delivers a series of lectures in the North of France. Active anarchist propaganda in the Puy-de-Dôme, where the trial of the persons arrested in connection with the troubles at Montceau takes place. Kropot-

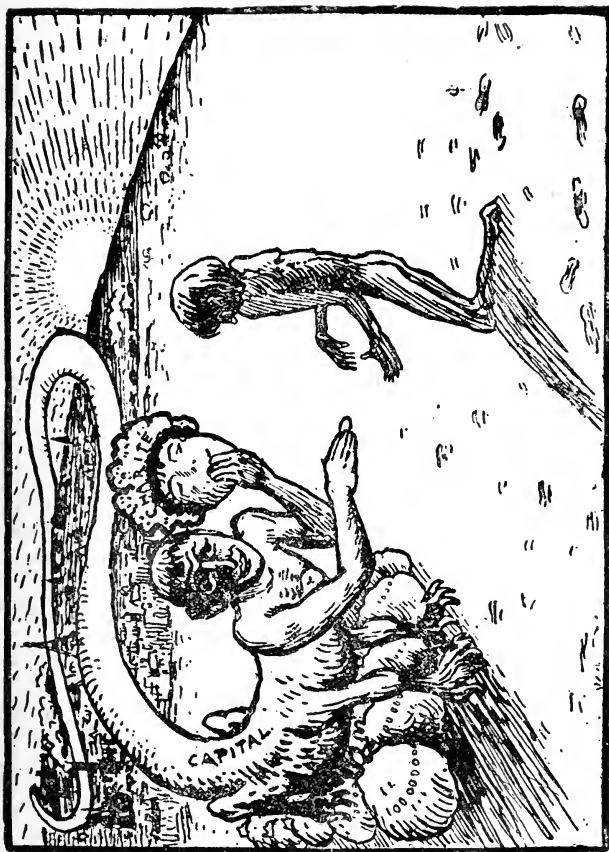
kine is arrested at Thonon, and François Guy, the author of "Anarchy and Prejudice," at Béziers.

**1883.** The trial takes place at Lyons of a number of anarchists accused of being members of the International. Among the accused are Kropotkine, Émile Gautier, Bordas, Sanlaville, &c. Sentences are passed on forty-seven persons. As the result of an anarchist demonstration in Paris in March, several bakers' shops are pillaged. In June Louise Michel, Émile Pouget, and seven other anarchists are sentenced. Throughout Europe arrests and trials of anarchists are frequent. In Spain a campaign is set on foot against the adherents of the "Black Band." Malatesta and Merlino are arrested in Italy. Numerous domiciliary visits take place in Switzerland, and many anarchists are expelled the country. Carlo Cafiero, who with Malatesta was one of the first anarchists to advocate recourse to violence, becomes insane. In December, Cyvoct is tried at Lyons for having caused the explosion at the Bellecour Theatre. He is condemned to death, but the sentence is commuted by President Grévy.

**1884.** Comparatively calm. Arrests in Germany of Reinsdorf and Mildenerge, the authors of the Niederwald explosion. Attempts to suppress the anarchist paper, *L'Étendard révolutionnaire*, published at Lyons, lead to its reappearance under various titles. A meeting of the unemployed in Paris passes a resolution recommending the working-men "to have done with their respect for property, and to summon up sufficient courage to lay hands on the necessities of life in the shops or wherever they are to be found."

**1885.** Trial and execution at Leipzig of Reinsdorf and his accomplices. The question whether recourse





"Capital and Charity" (*Père Peinard*).

should be had to violence or not is discussed in *Le Révolté*, which is now published in Paris instead of Switzerland. On the ground that each individual should be the best judge of his own business, and that it is not for a newspaper to direct the individual to do this or to do that, the question is decided in the negative. In the same paper the attitude anarchists should assume towards robbery—several thieves when arrested having declared themselves to be anarchists—is considered. The anarchist agitation is actively carried forward in Paris. Kropotkin publishes "The Sayings of a Rebel" (*Paroles d'un Révolté*). Reclus' book, "The Products of the Earth," appears at Geneva. *Le Révolté* is loud in its praise of a work by Guyau, a former student of the *École Normale*: "The Outlines of a System of Morality not based on Obligation or Sanction."

**1886.** The anarchists condemned to imprisonment in 1883 (Louise Michel, E. Pouget, Bordas, Kropotkin, &c.) are set at liberty in January. Disturbances at Decazeville. Murder of the engineer Watrin. Gallo fires several revolver shots in the Paris Bourse. Louise Michel is sentenced for a speech delivered at a public meeting. Riots at Charleroi end in general pillage and the burning of factories and convents. The great Chicago strike. Mass meeting of armed workmen on strike at Chicago (May 1st). On the police charging the mob, a bomb is exploded amongst them, eighty of them being wounded. Eight anarchists are arrested in consequence of this outrage, and seven of them are condemned to death.

**1887.** Clément Duval is sentenced to death for setting fire to a building he had broken into for

purposes of plunder: the question whether this burglar and incendiary is to be accounted an anarchist is keenly discussed by the organs and at the meetings of the party. Four of the Chicago anarchists are executed. Of the other three, two received a commutation of their sentence, and the third committed suicide by smoking a cigar in which a dynamite cartridge had been concealed. An anarchist paper, *L'Idée ouvrière*, is started at Havre. Several anarchists are sentenced at Laon for revolutionary speeches.

**1888.** Malato publishes his pamphlet, "The Workers in the Cities to the Workers in the Fields." Twenty thousand copies of it are circulated. The paper, *Ça Ira!* edited by Constant Martin makes its appearance. Strike of navvies in Paris ends in disturbances which are only quelled with bloodshed. The *Père Peinard* is started.

**1889.** The pamphleteers of the party show redoubled activity. Most publishes "The Religious Plague"; Malato, "The Philosophy of Anarchy"; J. Grave, "The Communist-Anarchist," this work being the second edition of "The Society of the Future."

**1890.** The first international May-day demonstration takes place. Merlino, Malato, and Louise Michel are imprisoned for seditious speeches. The first number of the *International*, a paper advocating the use of violence, is issued in London. Ten men and eight women are tried at Grenoble for taking part in May-day disturbances; only three of them are found guilty. Kropotkine issues his pamphlet "Anarchist Ethics"; and another pamphlet appears, the *Indicateur*, of which the object is to initiate the members of the party in the manufacture of explosives.

From the beginning of the movement up to the end of this year the anarchist party published about twenty-four pamphlets in France alone, the combined circulation of all of them amounting to about 150,000.

**1891.** The French anarchists turn their attention to the army. At Saint-Denis a number of anarchist conscripts protest against their enforced enrolment as soldiers. Anarchist hand-bills are distributed in several barracks. Velleméjeanne, a soldier professing anarchist opinion is condemned to a year's imprisonment for protesting against the military system. On the 1st of May there is an anarchist demonstration at Levallois, and the black flag is unfurled. Dynamite explosions occur at Charleville and Nantes. Sentence is passed on the *Père Peinard* for alluding in injurious terms to the army. Numerous anarchist publications make their appearance. Among the pamphlets may be cited, "Anarchy in the Criminal Courts," "Feudalism and Revolution," and an anarchist almanack edited by Sebastian Faure; among the new papers the *Pot à Colle* ("Paste Pot") and *l'En-dehors*. The Anti-Landlord League is started in Paris. An attempt is made to blow up the police-station at Clichy.

**1892.** Kropotkine's book, "The Battle for Bread" (*La Conquête du Pain*), appears. In consequence of a robbery of dynamite at Soisy-sous-Étoiles, near Paris, active measures are taken by the police against the anarchists residing in the suburbs of the French capital. The *Conscrit*, a party newspaper devoted to denunciations of the military system, is widely distributed amongst young working-men. A robbery of dynamite occurs in Savoy. Attempt to blow up the mansion of the Princess de Sagan: H. Fouquier,

## AUX BOURGEOIS DE MONTBRISON



“To the bourgeois of Montbrison.  
Take it if you dare !”  
(*Père Peinard.*)

commenting on this explosion in the *XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, points out the senselessness of outrages of this description, adding that if the anarchists were to direct their efforts against the Chamber of Deputies, the headquarters of the police, or the residence of the President of the Republic, their conduct might be more comprehensible. In March an explosion, aimed at M. Benoit, a magistrate, occurs at a house in the Boulevard Saint-Germain. As a counter-blow the authorities proceed to make a series of domiciliary visits and numerous arrests. A bomb is exploded at the Lobau barracks. A bomb explodes in a house in the Rue de Clichy, inhabited by M. Bulot, deputy public prosecutor. Ravachol is arrested. A number of foreign anarchists are expelled from France. A coterie of literary men publish articles glorifying Ravachol. Dynamite robbery at Tarbes. Explosion in April, at Véry's restaurant in the Boulevard Magenta, Paris. Zo d'Axa, the editor of *l'En-Dehors*, is sentenced to a term of imprisonment. The windows of the Café Riche, on the Boulevard des Italiens, are broken by a man professing himself an anarchist. An anarchist is sent to prison for ordering a meal at a restaurant for which he was unable to pay. Ravachol is condemned to death at Montbrison in June, and executed there in July. In November an explosion occurs at the police-station in the Rue des Bons-Enfants, Paris.

**1893.** At Saint-Denis, Roubaix, and Lyons the anarchists endeavour to convert the conscripts to their views. The workers at a French bicycle factory go out on strike and pass resolutions declaring that they are in their right in robbing their master. The discovery is made of an anarchist conspiracy at

Levallois-Perret, a suburb of Paris. Six anarchists are arrested, and explosives are found in their possession. Disturbances, for which the anarchists are in part responsible, take place in the Latin quarter of Paris, which is placarded with posters bearing the words: "The more of them [of the well-to-do] that are killed, the better." The anarchists are expelled from a socialist congress held at Zurich. Elisée Reclus issues a pamphlet entitled, "To my Brother, the Peasant." Pallas is tried and executed for throwing a bomb at Marshal Campos at Barcelona. Terrible bomb explosion in the El Lyceo Theatre at Barcelona. The Anarchist Léauthier stabs M. Georgevitch, the Servian minister, in a Paris restaurant. Bomb explosion at Marseilles. Domiciliary visits at Lyons, Saint-Etienne, Marseilles, Algiers, and Bordeaux. Meunier, whom the police have been unable to find, is condemned to death in his absence on the ground of his being the author of the explosion at the restaurant Véry. An anarchist congress meets at Chicago. On the occasion of the visit of the Russian sailors to Paris, the Anarchist Villisse fires a revolver in public as a protest against what he declares to be a wanton expenditure of public money. On the 9th of December Vaillant throws a bomb in the French Chamber of Deputies. Severe repressive measures against the anarchists are passed by the French Government. Revolutionary riots occur in Sicily. The anarchist newspapers appearing in Paris, the *Révolution* and the *Père Peinard*, are seized by the police. Robbery of dynamite at Berlin.

**1894.** Domiciliary visits to the number of two thousand are made by the police throughout France. One hundred anarchists are arrested. The *Père*

*Peinard* ceases to appear. An attempt is made to murder the Prefect of Barcelona. Vaillant is executed. The Anarchist Émile Henry explodes a bomb at the Café Terminus in Paris. The English Government resorts to repressive measures against the anarchists who have taken refuge in London. Bomb explosions in Paris at the hotel Saint-Jacques and at a house in the Faubourg Saint-Martin. Arrests of anarchists in France become for a time of daily occurrence. Jean Grave, one of the best known of the anarchist writers, is sentenced to imprisonment. The *Révolution* ceases to appear. Martial Bourdin, a well-known anarchist, is found dead in Greenwich Park, killed by the explosion of a bomb he was carrying on his person. The Anarchist Pauwels meets his death in a similar way in Paris when about, it is supposed, to blow up the Madeleine. Two anarchists, Farnaro and Polti, are arrested and tried in London for being concerned in the manufacture of bombs. They are condemned to twenty and ten years' penal servitude respectively. Dynamite explosion in Rome before the Chamber of Deputies. Bomb explosion in Paris at the restaurant Foyot. An anarchist attempts the life of Signor Crispi. An Italian anarchist, Cesario Santo, assassinates President Carnot at Lyons.



## CHAPTER III.

### THE ORGANISATION OF THE ANARCHIST PARTY.

It has already been remarked that the task which the anarchists have set themselves is twofold. Their first concern is to provoke the outbreak of a revolution which shall far outstrip in thoroughness and violence every previous social upheaval. Reform, however radical, has no place in their programme, which involves the utter destruction of the existing fabric of society. The Augean stable is past cleansing: it must be razed to the ground. The foundation on its ruins of a perfected form of society is the second undertaking to which the anarchists are pledged.

To enable the party to proceed with its schemes, whether of destruction or of reconstruction, it was necessary to decide on some system of organisation. Two main considerations guided the anarchists in this important matter. The very nature of the theories they profess made it necessary that their organisation should be carried out on the simplest possible lines. For the same reason, no recognition of the principle of authority could be allowed, under any pretext whatever, to enter into their combinations.

The efforts of the party to satisfy these conditions have resulted in its adopting the "group" as the basis of its organisation, both for its present purpose of war with the existing order of things and for the groundwork of the ideal society of the future. A group, as understood by the anarchists, is a voluntary association of individuals possessing the same tastes, animated by the same ideas, professing the same opinions, and actuated by the same motives.

In the present militant state of the party, the formation of a group is brought about as a rule by a number of persons agreeing to combine, who live in the same district, or who are in frequent contact with one another for any other reason. If an anarchist is desirous of founding a group, but is not in a position to recruit its numbers from amongst his acquaintances, he may make his intention known through the advertisement columns of the party press. The following are typical announcements of the kind. They are taken from the *Père Peinard*:—

"PARIS.—Comrades living in the Saint-Lambert, Plaisance, and Necker quarters of the city who would like to meet for purposes of study, and with a view to the foundation of a group, are requested to communicate with Comrade X., Z. Street, in the Saint-Lambert quarter."

"ARGENTEUIL.—Readers of the *Père Peinard* are invited to join in a debate, which will be held on the 4th of December at the public-house formerly kept by Delcroix."

When a group has been established, similar means are resorted to to notify its existence. Thus the subjoined paragraph appeared in the *Père Peinard*:—

"The anarchists of the Père Lachaise quarter inform

their companions in Paris that they have founded a group to be known as the Père Lachaise anarchist group.

"Meetings of the group take place every Monday at X.'s house in Z. Street.

"The group invites all working men, without distinction of party, to be present at these gatherings."

In the big towns and great industrial centres several groups often exist side by side. In places of less importance a single group may meet the requirements of the local anarchists. Paris, as might be expected, boasts the greatest number of groups. They all bear a distinctive name, chosen either to indicate their place of origin or to point in a significant manner to the opinions of their adherents. "The Children of Nature," "The League of Anti-Patriots," "The Panther of the Batignolles," "The Vanguard of the Army of Labour," "The International Club," "The Black Flag," "The Convicts," "The Resolutes," "The Disinherited," "The Levellers," "The Always Ready," "The Wild Boars of the Marne," "The Indomptables," "The Avengers," "The Friends of Ravachol," "The Hearts of Oak," the "Dynamite" group, "Independence and the Land," "The Pariahs of Picardy," "The Hungry Ones," "The Sword," and "The Yataghan," may be cited as specimens of this ominous if occasionally picturesque nomenclature.

A feature of the groups is their instability. Dissolved with the same facility as they are formed, they may be in existence to-day and have disappeared to-morrow. They are founded to meet the special need of a particular moment, and they pass away with the circumstances that called them into being.

The "comrades"—the anarchists, who disdain the appellation "citizen," occasionally speak of each other as "companions," but prefer the term "comrade," as more correctly expressing their conception of the society of the future—the comrades who make up a group are in the habit of meeting once or twice a week at the house of its members. The discussion that ensues bears upon current events, or upon any matter that is for the moment of immediate importance. It is contrary to the rules of these gatherings to pass resolutions of any kind. To do so would be to interfere with that absolute liberty of action which is the corner-stone of the anarchist creed. No one binds himself in any way, but is free under all circumstances to do what he thinks fit, and to hold what views he chooses. No attempt is made to regulate the course of the discussion, in which those present join as they feel inclined. In these unique deliberative assemblies there is no majority and no minority. Every one who takes part in them preserves his complete independence.

This absence of any guiding, not to say commanding, influence, which characterises the constitution of the group is an essential feature of the organisation of the party as a whole. The party is without leaders as it is without rank and file. It has no code of rules. It has abolished the vote, for a consensus of opinion is of no weight with the individual anarchist, whose own opinion is the sole law he recognises. The anarchist, in other words, is his own master in the fullest sense of the term. The unlimited freedom of the individual is the very essence of the anarchist doctrine, which claims for every man the right to live as he listeth, without restraint, let, or hindrance.

No difficulties are thrown in the way of persons desirous of entering a group. The neophyte is not called upon to render any account of himself. As a natural consequence, it is an easy matter for detectives to present themselves as members of a group. They avail themselves to the full of this generous hospitality, but the advantages they derive from it are not so brilliant as might be supposed. This is explained by the fact that the principal purpose the groups are intended to serve is to establish close relations between individual anarchists. Meeting in this informal manner, the comrades learn to know each other, and to form a shrewd idea of the character and genuine convictions of any particular member. The mutual acquaintance of the majority of members remains slight and casual. On the other hand, one comrade may decide to make overtures to another, with the result that a close intimacy may spring up between them outside the group and unknown to it. The anarchist who resolves to take some special step to promote what he conceives to be the interests of his party, either by committing an act of violence, or by resorting to exceptional measures to spread the doctrine, does not think of revealing his intention to the group to which he belongs. He carries out his purpose without consulting any one, or if he is obliged to seek assistance he applies not to the group at large, but to his intimate friends.

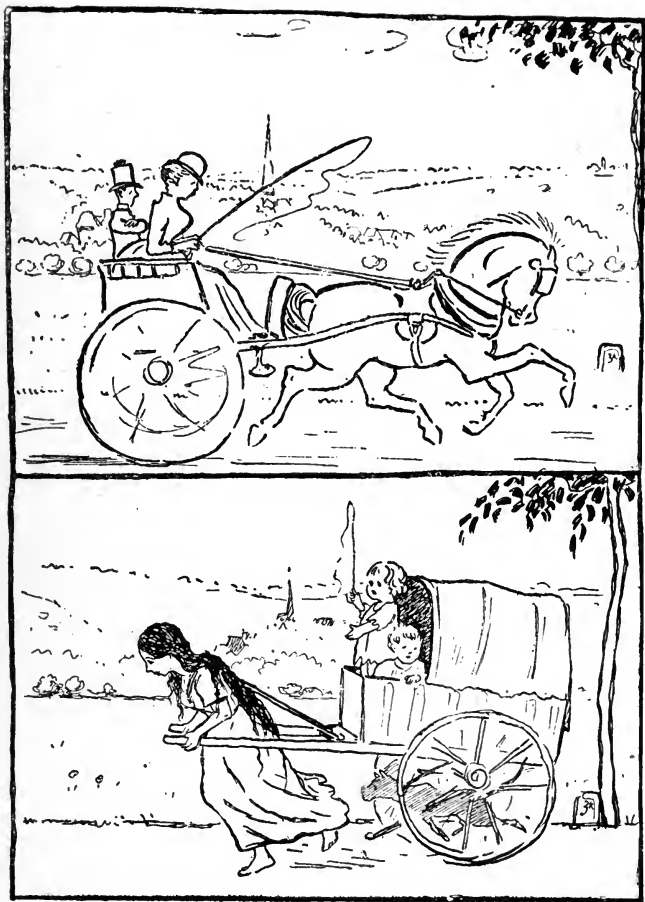
A case in point is supplied by the conduct of Vaillant, who, when his mind was made up to throw a bomb in the Chamber of Deputies, kept the Choisy-le-Roi group, of which he was a member, in complete ignorance of the project he had on foot. He only disclosed his scheme to one or two comrades, in

whom he placed implicit reliance, and who gave him what help they could.

The independence of each separate group is as absolute as that of the individuals who compose it. The groups are not subordinate to any central direction. The International had its general council and the Commune its managing committee, but the anarchist party recognises no governing or guiding body of any description. It has not even a settled policy, beyond the realisation of its fundamental principles. These peculiarities greatly enhance the difficulties with which the police are confronted in dealing with the party. In the case of all the revolutionary associations against which the police have previously been pitted it was sufficient to keep a careful watch on the leaders and principal adherents of the movement. Sooner or later, by a judicious expenditure of money or by some other means, the authorities always contrived to have an influential friend in the very heart of the enemy's stronghold, who kept them informed of what was in progress. Applied to the anarchists, this old-fashioned but once infallible measure has lost its virtue. The agitation is hydra-headed, and the most humble member of the most insignificant group may be more dangerous than the comrade who has achieved some slight notoriety. Effective observation of the party is in consequence almost impossible.

There is a certain amount of intercommunication between the groups in spite of their perfect independence. This is shown by the following notices which appeared in the *Père Peinard* :—

“SAINT-OUEN.—The ‘Social Future’ group of Saint-Ouen summons the comrades belonging to



“The rich man’s carriage and the beggar’s truck.”

(Père Peinard.)

the Saint-Denis, Stains, Argenteuil, Puteaux, and Aubervilliers groups to a mass meeting to be held on Sunday, the 15th of February."

"MARSEILLES.—The group of the 'Avengers' would like to enter into communication with other groups already formed. Those groups which have not received a letter on this subject, but may be inclined to entertain the proposal, are requested to forward their letters to the following address."<sup>1</sup>

In France, at an earlier period of the agitation, the groups belonging to the same district combined to form a confederacy, but this system has recently been abandoned. It is still adopted, however, by the Spanish and Italian anarchists. Both in Spain and Italy indeed, and the remark applies equally to the United States, the organisation of the anarchist party is comparatively complicated. The agitation has been under the necessity of adapting itself in these countries to its surroundings. The form it has assumed has been influenced by the degree of development the anarchist doctrine has attained to in each locality, as well as by the difference in national customs and manners.

The irregular manner in which the groups arise and disperse, and their indefinite constitution, prevent the number of them in existence being taken as anything approaching an accurate measure of the numerical strength of the entire party. Still, as they afford almost the only evidence on this point that is to be obtained, an attempt may be made to use them to arrive at approximately accurate statistics.

At one time there were about a hundred groups in Paris alone, and from four to five hundred scattered

<sup>1</sup> The names and addresses are always given in full.



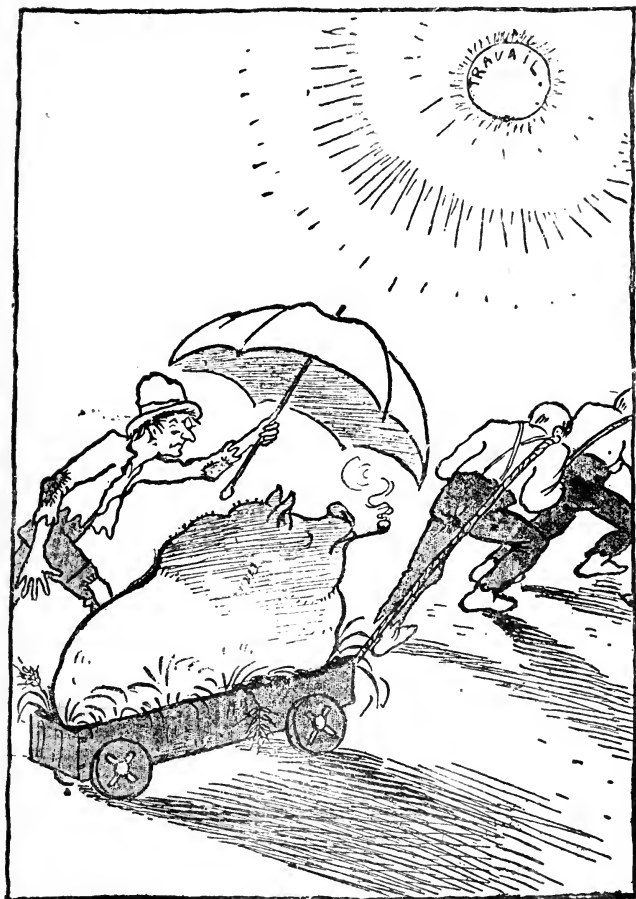
over the rest of France. The average number of members of each group may be placed at fifteen. These figures would point to there being some ten thousand militant anarchists in France. In addition to this regular army as it were, there are many un-enrolled anarchists, whose secret adherence to the party is only known to a few of their comrades. Numerous persons, who are in unavowed sympathy with the movement, abstain for a variety of reasons from giving that publicity to their opinions which is involved in frequenting a group. In some instances their reticence may be attributed to natural timidity, or to the fear of losing their means of livelihood. Persons employed by the Government, or holding situations in business houses, are largely influenced by considerations of this kind. There are members of the party, again, who are prevented by age or infirmities from showing themselves in public, but who are yet in constant touch with their comrades. Then there are the sceptics who disbelieve in the utility of an open profession of faith; the fanatics in whom the spirit of individualism is developed to such a pitch that they abstain on principle from any communication with their comrades; and, finally, those who vaguely sympathise with the cause, those who give only a qualified adhesion to the doctrine, and the large class of the discontented but undecided. All these waverers would rally round the anarchist banner were the movement to make considerable headway. Not counting that section of the population which will always range itself on the side of disorder, however provoked, it is probable that there are in France from twenty to thirty thousand anarchists properly so-called. In 1890, the *Internationale*, an

organ of the party, fixed the total at fifty thousand. This was undoubtedly an exaggerated figure at the time, but it cannot be denied that in the last four years the doctrine has made comparatively rapid progress.

As might be expected, the great industrial centres furnish the largest contingent to the anarchist army. Of the various classes of working-men, the tailors, shoemakers, weavers, and cabinet-makers have shown most sympathy with the movement. The miners hesitated for some considerable time before declaring themselves in its favour to any great extent, but they are now among its most prominent supporters. The dyeing and tanning trades have supplied the next largest number of recruits. On the whole, it is noticeable that the workers in the sedentary trades seem most disposed to accept the anarchist doctrines. The workers in large factories, on the other hand, have remained remarkably free from the contagion. The majority of anarchists are either men who are alone while at work, or whose occupation isolates them for the time being from their companions. The cabinet-maker or the turner, as he passes hour after hour at his bench or lathe, has ample opportunity to reflect on the anomalies of our social system, and to piece together, with what skill he may, a panacea for its crying imperfections. This is still more the case with the tailor and shoemaker, whose incessant and at last mechanical plying of the needle or awl, makes but a slight demand on the attention.

The repressive measures that have been put in force against the anarchists have aided, up to a certain point, in spreading their theories. The inevitable advertisement given in this way to a once

à Rothschild, le Roi des Grinches!



“We are thin that this sleek pig may be fat” (*Père Peinard*).

obscure doctrine could not but have this effect, as unfortunate as it seems to be unavoidable. It is a striking fact, that the localities which have been the scene of the most famous anarchist trials have become notorious as the principal centres of the agitation. Lyons, for instance, which has been the theatre of innumerable prosecutions, is a veritable hot-bed of anarchism. At Roanne, where the authorities have distinguished themselves by exceptional severity, the proceedings taken against the comrades on every possible occasion would appear to have had no other result than to lead to an increase in their numbers. A similar observation applies to the history of the movement in Vienne and Grenoble. Saint-Étienne, where disturbances brought on by anarchists have culminated on several occasions in bloodshed is honeycombed with "groups." On the other hand, though the party has many adherents in Marseilles, Bordeaux, Nîmes, and Bourges, the anarchists in these towns are not so numerous in proportion to the population as in several smaller places where repressive measures have been employed. Carmaux, where the doctrine was unknown before the strike that attracted wide attention owing to the events that followed in its train, is now infested with anarchists. Precisely the same phenomenon has occurred at Fourmies, where group after group has sprung into existence since the soldiery were called in to fire on a mob of refractory strikers.

"Strikes," an anarchist declared to the present writer, "do more than anything else to promote the spread of our opinions in the provinces. When the working classes discover, after suffering extreme hardships in their struggle with the capitalist, that all

their efforts have been in vain, they are seized with a feeling of disgust for politics and still more for politicians. They are exasperated at the thought of the misery they and their families have endured to so little purpose. The utter uselessness of the system of passive resistance which, to their own cost, they have adopted on the advice of their agitators, dawns upon them. The result is they abandon all hope of improving their lot by legal and peaceful means. They either accept the yoke thrust on them with the submissiveness of dumb beasts, or they join the ranks of those who are in rebellion against a society rotten to the core, and trust for the future in themselves alone: in other words, they become anarchists."

- The public life of the party, its official manifestations, is restricted to local and international congresses. The delegates to the international assemblies are chosen on different systems in different countries, and the method of raising the money required for their expenses also varies. The plan most frequently adopted in Italy is to choose as delegate a companion distinguished by his oratorical gifts or possessing private means. If the two qualifications are combined in a single individual so much the better. Where necessary, money is provided from the funds of the group, or if, as is often the case, there are none available, a subscription is started, to which every member contributes what he is able. Many of the poorer groups are not in a position to afford the luxury of a delegate, and content themselves with sending to the congress a written statement of their views.

In France no selection of delegates is attempted. Every companion whose means permit of his attend-

ance, or who has contrived to earn in whatever way the sum required for his expenses, is welcome at the congress. The poorer members of the party often tramp to the place of meeting, either begging on the road, or earning their subsistence by delivering lectures in the towns they pass as they proceed. In consequence of the different systems prevailing in the two countries the Italian delegate is, as a rule, the spokesman of a group, while the Frenchman merely expresses his own views, and, in fact, represents no one but himself.

A plan, differing from either of the foregoing, was formerly in vogue in Spain. When it was decided to hold a congress, *El Productor*, a paper which was at one time the official organ of the party, opened a subscription list in its columns, and conducted simultaneously a sort of plebiscite. Every anarchist who contributed to the common fund—it was immaterial whether the amount were small or large—was entitled to name the companion whom he wished to represent him. When the subscription list was closed the number of delegates who should attend the congress was determined by the sum in hand and the corresponding number of comrades who had polled the most votes were declared elected. Chosen in this way, the Spanish delegates often spoke in the name of comparatively large bodies of individuals.

National and local congresses are organised for the most part on lines identical with those just described. They are promoted with a view to the interchange of ideas, and of giving the comrades an opportunity of becoming acquainted with each other. Respect for the fundamental anarchist principle, which prescribes the absolute independence of the groups and of each

individual, has hitherto stood in the way of the elaboration of any system of party discipline. At the congresses held in France, where the conception of untrammelled personal liberty is more vigorously insisted on than elsewhere, no proposal of the kind has ever been even mooted.

Two attempts, however, have been made outside France to bind the scattered elements of the party more closely together, and to introduce into its counsels some measure of consistency, some ruling, or at least directing, spirit. The first effort in this direction was made by a number of Italian anarchists, including Malatesta, Cipriani, and Merlino, at a congress held at Capolago. They suggested that the various anarchist groups should unite to form a confederacy, knit together, it is true, by the loosest conceivable ties, but agreed at least upon a common line of conduct. All that would be required from each group would be an undertaking to adhere in a general way to a broadly defined policy. The authors of the scheme pointed out the advantages that would accrue to the party from its submitting to some form of direction in pursuing its agitation. They admitted that the shape this direction should take would need the most careful consideration, and that the proposals they had to offer were at best vague and tentative. It was at once objected that, however desirable such an innovation might be, it would prove in the end, whatever precautions were observed in its adoption, to be a violation of the first of all anarchist principles: "Do what you choose." The fear that this would be the case was fatal to the project, which was dropped without more ado.

THE CAPITALIST.



"The true cholera" (*Père Peinard*).



The question came up for discussion a second time at the international congress held at Chicago in 1893. The American authorities on this occasion threw every obstacle they could in the way of the delegates assembling. When the comrades arrived on the spot they found themselves unable to obtain a hall to meet in. It seemed for a time as if the congress would have to be abandoned, but at the last moment an Indian convert to anarchism came to the rescue of his companions, by placing a building at their disposal which he had had arranged and decorated to resemble a wigwam. It was amidst these savage surroundings that methods were debated for effecting the destruction of civilisation.

At length the congress was declared open. The first business it despatched was the reading and discussion of letters sent by comrades unable to attend. These preliminaries disposed of, it was proposed that a manifesto should be drawn up, setting forth the aims, which anarchists of every shade of opinion were of one mind in desiring to see realised. After a discussion which threatened to be interminable, it was seen that there was no hope of the delegates agreeing upon the terms of the manifesto. There was nothing for it but to renounce the idea, which was accordingly done.

A scheme for founding a central committee that should keep the anarchists of all countries in touch with each other by means of an interchange of correspondence met with more success. The task of determining the constitution of the committee, and the lines on which it was to work, was intrusted to a committee, of which an American, Mr. Holmes, was elected president. It was next decided that an

international anarchist paper should be established, and conducted in a manner that would permit of its appearing regularly. As this would mean that the paper would have to be edited with a certain amount of circumspection, with a view to avoiding police interference, the issue, when necessary, of a supplemental publication printed clandestinely, was also arranged for.

A number of resolutions were then passed, including one declaring in favour of an universal strike in the event of war breaking out, and another inviting the starving to seize food wherever it was to be found. A message of sympathy, in which the heroism of Pallas who attempted to murder Marshal Campos, was alluded to in glowing terms, was forwarded to the Spanish anarchists.

The conclusion of the congress was celebrated on Sunday, October 8th, by a mass meeting held in the open air. About five hundred persons were present on this occasion, when the conclusions arrived at by the congress were ratified amidst great enthusiasm.

The importance of the gathering at Chicago was considerable. The assembly was more representative than any that had preceded it, as is evident from the fact that seven different languages were spoken by the comrades present. Several speeches had to be twice translated before they could be understood by the American delegates. The meetings of the congress were conducted throughout on the anarchist plan; that is to say, there was no president, no order of procedure, and no recourse to the principle so generally adopted in deliberative assemblies of special commissions.

It is finally to be noted, that at Chicago, as at Capolago, the anarchists evinced the strongest determination to refuse to submit to even the mildest form of party discipline.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE PROPAGATION OF THE ANARCHIST DOCTRINE.

ONE of the most important functions of every group of companions is to assist in spreading anarchist opinions. In this, as in so many other matters, the assistance of the party press is invoked. Subjoined are specimens of a type of paragraph that is frequently met with.

“BLOIS.—An anarchist group, which has taken the name of ‘The Always Ready’ has just been founded in this district. Letters and communications of every sort should be sent to Companion X., Y. Street.

“Comrades who can spare newspapers or pamphlets that will be of use for propagandist purposes may forward them to the above address. If any companion who is stumping the country<sup>1</sup> should happen to be in the neighbourhood, it is hoped that he will not leave it without paying his ‘pals’ a friendly visit.”

“RIVE DE GIER.—Comrades who can spare pam-

<sup>1</sup> There is no exact English equivalent for *trimardeur*, the French slang expression descriptive of the class of anarchist alluded to. A companion is meant who tramps from place to place, hawking anarchist publications, and explaining and preaching the doctrine as he goes along.

phlets or papers for distribution are asked to forward them to X., Y. Street. It may be relied on that whatever is sent will not be wasted, as the opportunity is a good one to push the doctrine."

The great ambition of the larger groups is to have a newspaper of their own. The more influential organs of the party, with a becoming disregard for the principles of competition, do what they can to aid in the realisation of this wish. They are always ready to make it known, that the starting of a journal is contemplated by a group, and to help in recruiting writers and subscribers for the new publication. They accomplish this by inserting in their columns such an announcement as the following:—

"DIJON.—The group known as the 'Resolutes' proposes to issue a paper in pamphlet form to be called 'Hunger.' The comrades appeal to their companions for assistance in their task. Address all communications to Comrade X., Z. Street."

The majority of these periodicals lead a very precarious existence. The untimely end of one of them is thus announced—

"LYONS.—NOTICE TO THE READERS AND SUBSCRIBERS OF THE *INSURGENT*.—We have to inform our readers that in consequence of a raid on our offices, the paper will not appear this week. We hope, however, in spite of the disgraceful proceedings of the authorities to be in the field again before long. Hurrah! for the free man, a member of a free humanity. Hurrah! for anarchy!

"SANLAVILLE, Manager of the *Insurgent*."

In cases where a newspaper is beyond the resources of a group, pamphlets, manifestoes, or anarchist tracts and broad-sheets are issued.

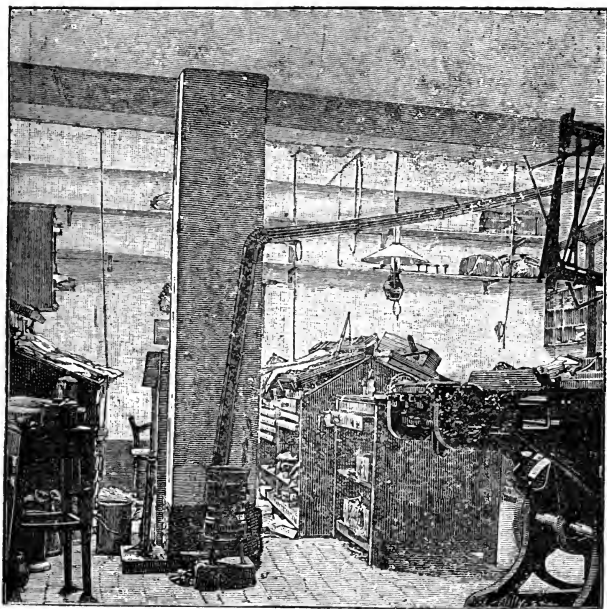
"GRENOBLE.—After resorting to every possible expedient to run a paper of their own, the comrades of Grenoble, checkmated by the rascally tribe of printers, have decided to buy a copying machine on which they will print off manifestoes for distribution."

"SEDAN.—The revolutionary group known as the 'Sedan Pillory,' not possessing sufficient funds to found an anarchist newspaper, have determined to publish short tracts whenever their resources will allow them to do so. The tracts will be sold at a half-penny each to cover the cost of printing."

The issue of ephemeral publications of this sort—tracts, short pamphlets, and fly-sheets—printed in various sizes and often on blue, green, red and orange coloured paper, has become exceedingly popular with the anarchists. The practice has developed to a remarkable extent since its introduction some four years back. It is at once cheap, convenient, and effective. Literature in this shape is easy to circulate and also—and from the anarchist point of view this is an important consideration—to conceal even in large quantities. The matter, as a rule, is printed, but specimens written by hand are not unfrequently met with. The text is accompanied by illustrations in a few instances.

London is one of the chief centres for the production of these incendiary publications. They leave the English capital wrapped in an inoffensive newspaper or concealed between the pages of a book or magazine designedly chosen for the harmlessness of its contents.

The persons who print these pamphlets are in the habit, for obvious reasons, of withholding their names and addresses. Fantastic information is often sup-



ANARCHIST PRINTING WORKS IN THE RUE DES TROIS-  
BORNES, PARIS.

plied on this head, the companions evidently thinking the opportunity a good one for the exercise of their wit. Some of these tracts, for instance, bear the ironical announcement that they were issued by the National Press, an establishment in Paris which prints the publications of the French Government. Others purport to have seen the light in the capital of Dahomey, or in the printing works—which it is needless to say do not exist—of Charles Dupuy, who was recently the French Prime Minister. The statement "Printed at the Anarchist Printing Works, London," often occurs. One of the commonest inscriptions is: "Printed by Reclus at the Secret Press, 33, Rue des Trois-Bornes, Paris."

The political excitement engendered by an election is frequently turned to account by the anarchists, who seldom fail on such occasions to scatter their pamphlets broadcast. The advice tendered to the companions never takes the shape of recommending them to vote for any particular candidate. On the contrary, the comrades are always called upon to abstain from going to the poll, and to induce them to adopt this course, the rival politicians without distinction of party are assailed with the coarsest abuse.

Any event of more than ordinary importance serves to stimulate the output of anarchist literature. The Panama scandal, the socialist riots at Xeres, the bomb explosion in the Rue des Bons-Enfants, the trial of Ravachol, the conflict between French and Italian labourers at Aigues-mortes, the appearance of the Russian fleet in French waters, and the celebration of revolutionary anniversaries, are incidents, among many others, which have inspired the anarchist



pamphleteer to take up his pen and write. The titles of a few of these lucubrations may be of interest. "Down with the Chamber"; "The Dynamiters to the Panamiters"; "The Russian Terrorists to their Brothers in France"; "Down with the Tzar"; "Working Man—Revolt!"; "Vengeance is a Duty"; "Death to Judges and Juries"; "The Dynamiter's Manifesto," is a list that might be very largely added to.

The great majority of pamphlets are couched in the most violent language. The menaces uttered by infuriated anarchist orators, and the vigorous invective that is common in the party newspapers, are mild and polished compared with the matter that appears in these irresponsible prints. They are written, in fact, with the most unbridled license, the authors being loud in their praise of murder and every form of crime, and vying with each other in profanity and grossness. The suppression of almost all the anarchist newspapers has brought the pamphlet into greater vogue than ever, the ease with which it is produced and distributed recommending itself to men who are in constant fear of the police.

Of all the methods employed by the anarchists to gain converts to the cause, the insidious literature we have been describing is perhaps the most dangerously effective, but it is only one of a great variety of means to the same end. It is doubtful whether any political party has displayed in the furtherance of its principles an ingenuity and tenacity of purpose equal to that of these extreme revolutionists.

The spread of their opinions is the constant pre-occupation of the members of the various groups. The conscientiousness with which they perform their

self-imposed task would be admirable if it were employed in a less questionable undertaking. No pains are spared by the older adherents to the party to lay its tenets before the neophyte in an acceptable and convincing light. The waverers are taken in hand, and every effort made to dispel their doubts; the merely curious are preached at and catechised till they are induced to renounce their indifference. A more astonishing development of the missionary spirit would be hard to find.

The arranging for public meetings and private gatherings is a special concern of the groups. They fix the subjects that shall be discussed on these occasions and if necessary provide the speakers. They also issue the invitations which are sometimes personal, or they may take the form of a notice inserted in one of the newspapers of the party. The following is a specimen notice of this sort:—

“CHERBOURG.—The Cherbourg ‘Group for the Study of Social Problems’ invites all working-men desirous of discussing their rights to communicate with Comrade G., who will be known to them as the seller of anarchist publications. He will inform them of the date and place of the contemplated meeting.”

At an assembly of anarchists, there is no president or chairman in the ordinary sense of the term. A companion is told off to announce the speakers, but his duties begin and end here. As a rule the names of the orators are withheld, or they are alluded to by a sobriquet invented for the occasion, or more simply still as No. 1, No. 6, and so on. This precaution is resorted to owing to the probable presence of detectives, but it is in every case of dubious utility,

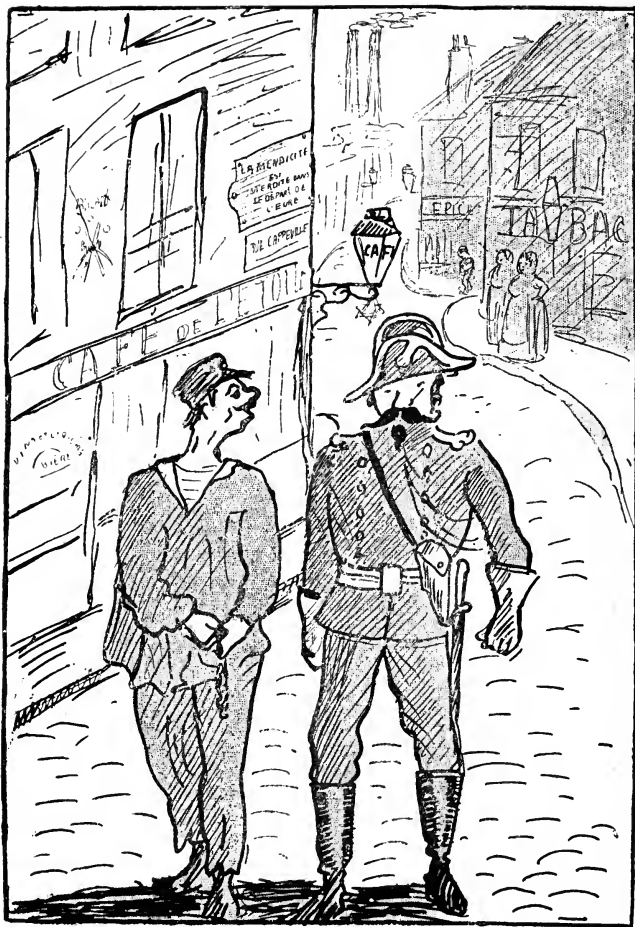
and when the speakers are well-known members of the party it becomes a mere matter of form.

A favourite manœuvre of the anarchists is to attend, for the purpose of creating a disturbance, the meetings organised by the followers of other political parties. In particular, they take a malicious pleasure in indulging in disorderly conduct at the gatherings promoted by the various sects of socialists. Their method of procedure is simple, but effective. After a little preliminary skirmishing in the shape of continuous interruptions, they make a united rush for the platform. A free fight is the result, and in the majority of cases the meeting breaks up in confusion.

The anarchists are especially active in organising meetings when an election is in progress. It is their practice on these occasions to supplement their oratorical efforts by a plentiful distribution amongst the audience of handbills of which we append specimens :

“TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE CAUSE.—Comrades ! It is our duty to seize the opportunity afforded by an election to bring home to the People that they are habitually imposed upon by the professional politicians, to point out to them the injustice of which they are the victims in the present state of society, and to urge the masses to revolt. . . . Every human being has the right, not only to live, but to his share of whatever makes life worth living. We declare that the rich and all those who profit by the toil of the People are nothing but robbers.—*The Group of those who are in favour of revolutionary action.*”

“DOWN WITH PARLIAMENT.—Toilers ! Recover your liberty and your rights and keep them ! The



"I can't get work, and you won't have me beg. . . . When you let me go, I suppose I must steal?" (*Père Peinard*).

Government is the flunkey of capital. Go for the Government! Down with King Carnot. To the sewer with the Senate! To the river with the Chamber of Deputies! To the dung-heap with all social refuse! Attack the Chamber! the Senate! the President! Capital! Hurrah for the Social Revolution! Hurrah for Anarchy!—*An Anarchist Group.*"

As well as public meetings, gatherings of a more informal kind, at which entertainment and even conviviality is combined with instruction are exceedingly popular with the companions. These semi-social functions, for which the name of "Punch Conferences" has been found, may perhaps be best described as smoking concerts. The music-hall ditty is replaced by revolutionary songs, and speeches complete the programme. Refreshments are served in the orthodox fashion. A series of conferences arranged on these lines was organised in Paris in the winter of 1893 by a coterie of young authors and students of social subjects, who elected to be known as the "Group of the New Idea." Among them were a number of men of rising reputation, including Paul Adam, A. Hamon—who has since acquired considerable notoriety by his book: "The Psychology of the Professional Soldier"—Barrucand, and J. Carrère. It was originally intended that the meetings should take place every Friday, but the scheme was subsequently modified. Sixpence was charged for admission to the opening gathering, which was held at a well-known café. Fairly large audiences attended the succeeding conferences at the Hotel Continental, though the entrance fee had been raised to three francs.

True to their system of neglecting no opportunity

of forcing their views upon those classes of the population that are most likely to receive them favourably, it occurred to the Parisian anarchists during the severe winter of 1891-2 to establish soup-kitchens. In doing so the companions were no doubt largely actuated by charitable motives, but their enthusiasm in the scheme was certainly not lessened by the way in which it lent itself to proselytising purposes. Finer material from which to swell the ranks of the anarchist army could hardly be conceived than the starving unfortunates whom the free distribution of nourishing food attracted by the score. The right to a basin of soup was made contingent on the recipients consenting to listen, after its consumption, to a sermon. The material meal, in fact, was followed by an intellectual repast. Martinet, Brunet, the song-writer Brunel, and other well-known spokesmen of the party proceeded, after doling out the soup, to expound the drastic methods by which suffering and starvation are to be banished from the world to an attentive, because grateful, audience.

The public were admitted to these "soup-lectures," as they came to be called, on payment of a small fee which went towards the fund for providing the free meal. Most of the money necessary, however, was raised by subscription. As the majority of the comrades are themselves poor, the sum obtained was far from reaching the figure the promoters of the soup-kitchens would have liked. To increase their resources the idea was hit on of a house-to-house collection, and help was obtained from a number of persons, including the Duke d'Audriffret-Pasquier, Léon Say, Émile Zola, and Sarah Bernhardt, who, it might have been thought, would have refused to

grant it to applicants of such dubious character. As it was, the refusals were of course numerous, and some of the companions resorting to threats to loosen the purse strings of the recalcitrant, the police found it necessary to intervene, with the result that a number of the advocates of enforced charity were sent to reflect in prison on the iniquitous organisation of society.

The groups are also in the habit of organising what they term "family gatherings." Intimations similar to that annexed are of common occurrence in the anarchist newspapers :

"VILLEFRANCHE. — The Villefranche group of anarchists announces a social family evening for Sunday, the 14th inst. The entertainment will take place at A.'s restaurant, and will begin at three o'clock in the afternoon.

"A grand assortment of revolutionary songs and recitations will be the feature of the occasion."

The discussion of anarchist doctrines is vigorously proceeded with on these festive occasions. The literary members of the party make a point of being present, as by reading or singing their compositions they may hope to increase their popularity. The merit of the majority of these amateur lucubrations is more than problematical, but so long as their doctrine is sound their artistic excellence is of secondary importance.

As the titles of most of the anarchist songs give a good idea of their contents, it may be interesting to cite the names of those that enjoy the greatest vogue. Among these popular favourites are "Ravachol's Hymn," "The Breakers of Images," "No More Government," "What We Want," "The Song of the

Anti-Patriots," "The Great Principles: I sit on them," "The Right to Live," "The Death of a Brave Man," "The Hymn of the International," "How Pleasant Life is!" "The Flat Footed," "The Children of Nature," "Gold," "To the Carmaux Strikers," "The Battle," "The Rebels' Standard," "The Song of the Workers," and "I don't like the Police."

To show the feeling that animates these productions, and the extraordinary nature of the sentiments they express, it will be well to give a prose translation of the less objectionable verses of the "Père Duchesne," a song at least as famous as any of those mentioned above, and specially notorious from the fact that it was sung by Ravachol as he marched to the scaffold. The song, of which we merely give the skeleton, is accompanied in the original by an oath, that serves as a refrain, and is repeated after every line :—

## I.

I saw the light in 1792. My name is Père Duchesne. Marat was a hero ! To whoever hates him, I wish to speak in plain language.

## II.

Cowardly rogues and rascals, you call me a low wretch. Yet I work from the moment I awake till nightfall, and I sleep on a bed of straw.

## III.

Heaven is the only reward held out to us. While these gentry wax fat, we die of starvation.

## IV.

A dirty fellow is their name for us. When they pass in their carriage, rush at them, spring on the axle, and to avenge the insult spit in their face.

## V.

If you want to be happy, hang your landlord, cut the parsons' throats, wreck the churches, and . . .



## VI.

The People too readily forgets and forgives. If ever it rises in its wrath let it not be generous. Masters, capitalists, and priests, all deserve to be hanged.

The spread of anarchist theories has been accompanied, more especially in France, by considerable literary activity. The poets and song writers of that country, who have found in the doctrine a source of inspiration, are numerous. The works of several of these authors have appeared in print. For instance, the writings of Paul Paillette, of Souëtre, of Brunel, of A. Leroy, of Martinet de Troyes, of A. Marscille, of Thomas Aschéri, have been collected and published in book form. This distinction, however, is comparatively rare. Outside the favoured few who have attained to the dignity of print, there exists a host of humbler versifiers, whose productions pass from hand to hand in manuscript, or are communicated orally by one companion to another. Each of these obscure geniuses has his limited circle of admirers, who make it a point of honour to patronise the local poet, declaiming his lyrical outpourings whenever opportunity offers at public meetings and social gatherings. In addition to the writers who are entirely identified with their party, the anarchists regard with special favour a few authors of wider renown. Among the men of letters of the day there are some who have made it their province to throw into lurid relief the black spots that disfigure civilisation, and these denunciations of existing evils are complacently quoted by the anarchists. Whoever has a reproach to fling at conventional morality, whoever speaks out in praise of a life in which the



“The People drag round the fatted carnival ox, though all the while they are starving” (*Père Peinard*).

natural instincts shall have freer play, is hailed as a prophet of the new creed.

A few of the anarchist poets deserve more than a passing mention. The smooth and far from undistinguished verse of Paul Paillette has earned him the title of "the poet of harmony." A writer of a delicate, if rather fanciful imagination, he is deeply imbued with the teachings of epicurean philosophy. Without dwelling in detail on his views, it will be sufficient to say that his notions of morality are unorthodox in the extreme. He would like to see woman the equal in all respects to man, and freed from every social restraint. Literary Paris counts him amongst its celebrities, and his house on the Butte Montmartre is a favourite meeting-place with men of letters who profess advanced, not to say extravagant, opinions. His reputation rests on two volumes of poetry: "*Le Temps d'anarchie*" and "*Voie Nouvelle*." Formerly a jeweller, he makes his living at present by reciting his verses in the drawing-rooms of the very persons whose mode of living he so loudly denounces.

One of the most original figures amongst the anarchist writers is a mason's labourer, on whose real name history is silent, but who is widely known as Père Lapurge, a nickname derived from the title of the song that first brought him into notice. The refrain of the song is as follows:—

"I am old Father Lapurge,  
The Chemist of Humanity,  
Whose evil humours I am up in arms against,  
I and my daughter Equality.  
I have what is wanted in my shop  
Without the aid of thunder and lightning,  
To rid the Universe  
Of the entire band of those who live by starving their fellow-men."

I have picrate of potassium,  
And barrels of sulphur and bleaching powder,  
To clean a world  
Fouled by the preachers of false doctrine."

In spite of his excursions into literature, it is understood that Père Lapurge is contented with his lot. He is a man of a genial disposition, who is far more affected by the misery around him than by the hardships he is exposed to himself.

A. Brunel, a waiter by occupation, is a man of about thirty. A few years back he distinguished himself by his activity in the anarchist cause, but for some time past he has ceased to be a militant member of the party. He was associated with the well-known companion Martinet in organising the anarchist soup-kitchens, which are described elsewhere. His most successful song is the already mentioned "Song of the Working Men."

The majority of the anarchist pamphleteers are at pains for excellent reasons to remain unknown to fame, but one of the most industrious of them, Achille Leroy, has been able to dispense with this precaution owing to his comparative inoffensiveness. The literary efforts of Leroy might have failed to bring him notoriety, had they not been supplemented by the eccentricity of his behaviour. His farcical candidature for academic honours may still be remembered; his grotesque promenades through Paris, and his leaving a saucepan instead of a card at the residences of the French Academicians having excited considerable amusement at the time. His personal appearance—he has the traditional flowing locks, if none other of the characteristics of the poet—is as peculiar as his conduct. After trying every

AU PALAIS D'INJUSTICE



“In the courts of injustice. ‘What am I? I’m a man, and I want your blood’” (*Père Peinard*).

form of socialism, he has seen the error of his ways, and become a convert to anarchism, which he preaches in innumerable pamphlets that it is the business of his life to sell in sufficient quantity to allow him to eke out a precarious existence. His most noteworthy production is a short treatise on "The Liberty of the Working Man."

A companion, a native of Lyons, who has chosen to conceal his identity under the engaging pseudonym of "The Sot," enjoys a high reputation in anarchist circles. His career, which has been a strange one, lends itself to two very opposite interpretations. Spending his life on the highway, he is regarded by his comrades as the François Villon of these later days, as a strolling poet who has shaken the dust of the towns off his feet, turned his back on a corrupt society, and freed himself from the narrow prejudices of his age and race. From another point of view this wandering and amiable Bohemian becomes a tramp of even less respectability than the average member of the order; for if ashamed to beg and too proud to steal, he has proved to be a perambulating manufacturer of false coin, and as such is suffering a long term of imprisonment. His chequered experiences may have soured his muse, which breathes the most implacable hatred of all who live in ease. The accompanying translation of the refrain of one of the most famous of his songs will be a sufficient example of the virulence of his opinions:—

"Downtrodden, immolated toiler, victim of the rich,  
Wait on your persecutors by night and strike them unseen as is your  
duty.  
Bè like them, pitiless. Spread terror everywhere  
And by every means within thy reach, oh toiler, avenge thee!"

To dismiss this "martyr poet" as he is styled by his admirers, it may be said that his verses are in no way remarkable except for the views to which they give utterance.

Having dealt with the poetry of anarchism, by a not too abrupt transition, a word may be said of the female champions of the cause, though it is true the temptation is greater to class them with the Furies rather than the Graces. The first appearance on the scene of the woman anarchist dates back to the



FRONTISPIECE TO WINTER. *From the Almanac of the Père Peinard.*

French elections of 1885. She at once made her presence felt in anything but a peaceful manner, her opening act of prowess being the creation of disturbances at public meetings. This was notably the case in connection with the parliamentary candidature of Léonie Rouzade, a lady of pronounced socialist opinions, and impressed with the belief that her proper place was in the Chamber of Deputies. The anarchist politicians of her own sex were convinced that she had mistaken her vocation, and endeavoured, with a large measure of success, to prevent her obtaining a hearing whenever she mounted the platform.

These disorderly demonstrations scarcely deserve to be treated seriously, but the rôle played by women in the history of anarchism is far from being ex-

clusively grotesque. Few companions have done more to promote the interests of the cause than Louise Michel, who, after repeatedly suffering imprisonment, has finally been expelled from France, and resides at present in England. Among the women who have attained to a less degree of celebrity may be cited Louise Quitrine, Dotz, Ivanec, Moreau, Godard, Feste, and two townswomen of Lyons, Labouret and Pallais, who signalled themselves by attempting to found, without much success, the first groups composed solely of women, and by vigorous polemical contributions to the anarchist newspaper *Égalité*. All these enthusiasts have taken an active share in the campaign in which the party is engaged, speaking at its public meetings and private gatherings, and distinguishing themselves by their uncompromisingly aggressive attitude towards their adversaries of both sexes.

The career of Louise Quitrine is perhaps the most remarkable. She began her political crusade as an ardent upholder of the collectivist doctrine, but was unable to rest content for long with the profession of views she was quick to stigmatise as moderate. Washing her hands of this lukewarm creed, she came to the front during a strike of tailors' hands in Paris, and a little later became conspicuous in connection with the unemployed agitation in the same capital. A convert shortly afterwards to anarchism, she was at once a familiar figure and frequent speaker at the meetings of the party. She also turned her attention to literary production, writing numerous poems and songs, of which a selection were published under the title, milder than might have been expected of such an author, of "Children's Roundelays." The



following lines show her talent in its most agreeable light :—

“ How is it there are so many children,  
Who are hungry and without clothes,  
While others chubby and daintily complexioned  
Have everything they can wish ?  
For pity's sake tell us  
Why all children are not so well off.”

In many of her poems she dilates on the peculiar opinions she holds with regard to the relation between the sexes. Thus she writes :—

“ All law is despotic  
And pitiless,  
To free ourselves from it, let us stamp out  
Prejudice :  
The natural instincts alone are imperious :  
They are to be obeyed.  
Woman, hearken in everything to my behests,  
Says Nature.”

The idea indicated in these lines is developed in the remainder of the poem with some force, but also with considerable crudeness of expression.

Madame Ivanec, who is an Austrian by birth, is a woman of immense energy of character, and a public speaker of no mean gifts. Her presence at an international congress of the party held in Paris attracted general attention, but she is best known as the organiser of a series of open-air fêtes, at which a pleasant day in the country was wont to be brought to an appropriate conclusion by the delivery of anarchist addresses, and the singing by the holiday-makers of revolutionary songs. She is ably seconded in her proselytising efforts by Madame Dotz, a German, who regards her mission with extreme

seriousness, and has worked indefatigably to interest her sex in the anarchist movement.

Madame Moreau, the wife of an anarchist shoemaker, is chiefly celebrated for the extraordinary likeness she bears to Louise Michel, for whom she has often been taken when speaking in public, as she is in the habit of doing. Madame Labouret, who recently died, was a woman of great intelligence and untiring activity. At political meetings she was frequently seen on the platform side by side with her husband, a compositor, who was as fervent a socialist as she was an ardent anarchist. Vehement controversies invariably arose between the pair to the no small amusement of the audience.

In their war with every orthodox belief, the anarchists have singled out the idea of patriotism as an object of their special enmity. The companions have founded an Anti-Patriotic League, and they support it with greater enthusiasm than almost any other of their party institutions. The League issues pamphlets and organises meetings, redoubling its activity in this latter direction at the period of the year when the conscripts are called to join the colours. The sentiments which animate the League will best be appreciated by giving a few lines of an exceedingly ill-written song, "The Song of the Anti-Patriots":—

"On the altar of the fatherland  
We have sacrificed our happiness ;  
By the practice of idolatry  
We have corrupted our hearts.  
Shall we for ever be the victims  
Of those rogues our leaders ?  
No ! Then let us put a stop to these crimes  
By putting to death the murderers.

## CHORUS.

Up ! brother in misery !  
For us there are no frontiers,  
Let us revolt against the starvers of the People.  
To crush the capitalist  
And to suppress tyranny,  
We must fight united  
For Anarchy.

The pamphlets circulated by the League are couched in a similar strain. "Conscripts," one of these precious publications declares, "we are the sworn foes of all laws. All laws are barbarous, iniquitous, and idiotic. They are made by the capitalists and their flunkys for their own benefit, and against the interests of the poor, the wretched, and the producers of wealth. Now that the down-trodden People is struggling to throw off its yoke, the enemies of the People are arming for the inevitable conflict. It is you, you the soldiers sprung from the People, that they are calling to their assistance. They would have you hired assassins in the pay of your own foes. And what is the wage they offer? Conscripts, before you enter the barracks, reflect on what the anarchists tell you. Reflect!"

Another pamphlet, purporting to be printed in London at the "Press of Liberty," and entitled the "Declaration of the Anarchist Soldiers," contains the following paragraph :—

"To remain in this hell [the army] is to remain there, consumed by impotent fury, exposed to ceaseless torture, and to the insults of one's superiors in rank. The prospect before one is the court martial and a military prison, or even a military execution. Never for one moment while we wear the accursed

uniform are we forgetful of our mortal hatred of all authority, and we await impatiently the coming of the glorious time when we shall turn our arms against our tormentors. We remember the example set us by the heroes of 1871, our predecessors in the ranks, who left them to make common cause with the people up in arms, and who laid hands on two generals and—shot them. When the word of command is given us to fire, we will point our rifles at the belaced and bebraided brutes who give the order.”

The same anti-patriotic feeling finds expression in the “Unsubmissive <sup>1</sup> conscripts,” a song by no means deficient in a certain rough vigour, and immensely popular with the companions. The annexed translation must not be taken as doing justice to the original:—

“Away, children of the sons of toil,  
We are called on to join the regiment ;  
We are to be enrolled as soldiers  
To serve the ends of the Government.  
Our fathers acquiesced as they were bidden,  
In a system of which they misunderstood the import !  
We will be less foolish,  
We, the unsubmissive.

We are taught to hate  
The German invader,  
We are told to wrest Alsace and Lorraine  
From the hands of the oppressor ;  
What care we for the internecine struggles  
Of those who batten on the toilers of every land ?  
We will have no more frontiers,  
We, the unsubmissive.

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<sup>1</sup> Used in this sense, the French word *insoumis* has no exact equivalent in English. It is applied to persons who have failed to comply with the regulations for compulsory military service as laid down by law.



“ Our native land is a ghoul with an insatiable appetite. The vixen  
eats her own children ” (*Père Peinard*).

In vain they prate to us of patriotism ;  
Our hearts go out to the people of all nations ;  
We will plant the banner of anarchy  
In every quarter of the Universe,  
And when the day of the final struggle dawns,  
The waverers will flock to our side  
And found with us the international union  
Of all the unsubmissive."

The companions in their zeal for proselytising do not restrict their efforts to the singing of songs and the distribution of pamphlets. They dog the steps of the conscripts, exhorting them to rebellion, and greeting them with cries of "Down with Patriotism." Collisions with the police are frequent on these occasions, and have resulted, more especially in the immediate neighbourhood of Paris, in very serious disturbances. These endeavours to incite the conscripts to revolt are continued after they have joined the ranks. The anarchists clearly see of what extreme importance it is to their cause to provoke a movement in their favour in the army. The results they have obtained, however, have up till now been insignificant.

Side by side with the local agitation carried on by the groups, an agency is at work for spreading a knowledge of the doctrine in districts to which their influence does not extend. Itinerant missionaries—*trimardeurs*—scour the country, passing from place to place sometimes in the guise of pedlars or tramps, at others openly avowing their errand, preaching their subversive theories to whoever will hear them. The companions put the greatest faith in this phase of their agitation, as is shown by the numerous allusions to it in their newspapers. The following quotation is from the *Révolte* :—

L'entraînement dans l'armée.



“Training our soldiers. ‘It’s a pity they should take it into their heads to die, just as they were getting used to the business’”  
(*Père Peinard*).

"Readers of the *Père Peinard* and the *Révolution* living at Evreux, Cherbourg, Dreux, Rouen, Havre, Caen, Alençon, Granville, or in the smaller towns and hamlets in the neighbouring districts, are informed that a comrade will leave Paris on February the 20th at the latest for the purpose of organising a series of anti-patriotic and anti-religious meetings, at which the doctrines of anarchism will be explained and the most effective measures discussed of promoting the interests of the party by recourse to violence. It is proposed to hold these meetings wherever there is a suitable building. A hall holding at least two hundred people is required. Information is requested as to the places where such accommodation is obtainable, as to what the expenses are likely to be, and as to the number of lectures that may be given in each locality with good results.

"The groups and comrades of the districts the companion proposes to visit are earnestly asked to do what they can to make the tour a success by subscribing to the funds of the party, or by forwarding as many pamphlets as they can spare for distribution.

"Replies, accompanied by as much money and as many pamphlets as possible, should be sent at once to X., Z. Street, Paris."

The travelling spokesmen of the party are of course not always able to carry on their operations on so extensive a scale as that indicated in the above extract. More common and not less dangerous are the humbler agitators, who proceed on foot from village to village and farm to farm, speaking to the peasants individually, and resorting to every artifice to instil them with their own insidious tenets. The



revolutionary song is made use of in this, as in so many instances, by the proselytising companion as a convenient and effective vehicle for conveying his doctrines to intelligences that would neither appreciate nor retain it in any other form. One of the best-known productions of Père Lapurge is the "Song of the Peasant," in which the following verse occurs :—

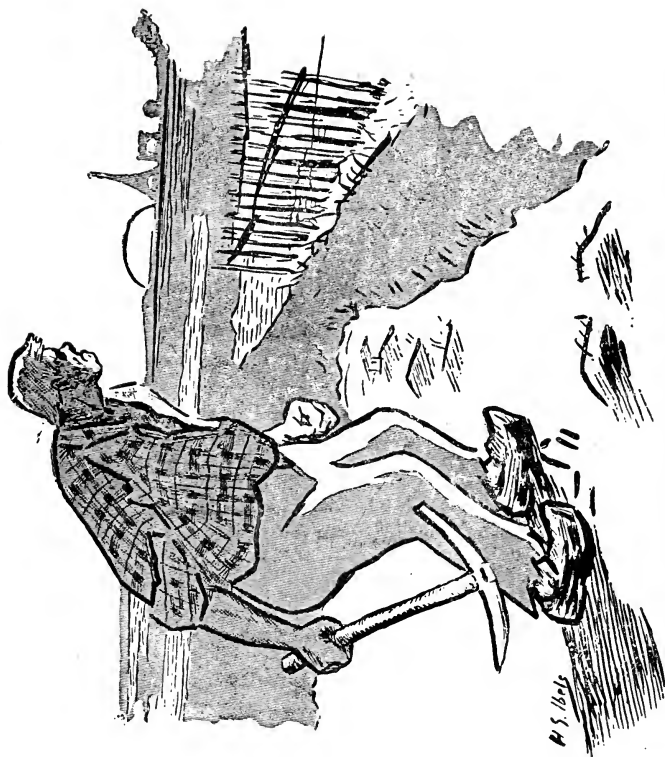
" May the days of the Revolution return.  
Torch in hand, if opportunity offers,  
To better purpose even than our ancestors in the times of the  
Jacquerie<sup>1</sup>  
We will celebrate a Passover feast at which the blood shall flow  
Till the Universe  
Shall be strewn with corpses.  
Society is rotten,  
And we will end it."

In the "Song of the Strolling Anarchist" the same writer says :—

" We wander over the globe  
In search of work and bread,  
And yet our fertile land  
Produces food in abundance.  
Those who prey on us thirst ceaselessly for pleasure,  
And delight in our sufferings.  
We toil to create wealth—  
Shall we die of hunger and want?"

Of the better known anarchists Elisée Reclus has devoted most attention to winning over the peasantry to the party. As long ago as 1879, at the anarchist congress held at Neufchâtel, he insisted on the importance of preaching the social revolution to the

<sup>1</sup> A peasant insurrection in France in the fourteenth century, accompanied by great excesses.



FRONTISPIECE TO "THE SONG OF THE PEASANT" BY PÈRE LAPURGE.

agricultural classes. He has since issued a pamphlet, of which the title, "To My Brother, the Peasant," indicates the contents. The pamphlet, it must be confessed, is admirably written, in language which the most ignorant labourer can understand. Considerable foresight, too, has been expended upon its production. It extends to sixteen pages, but they are of small size, and the companion who wishes to circulate it can very easily carry with him a thousand copies. It is printed in exceptionally large and clear type, so as to render its perusal easier for illiterate persons.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE ANARCHIST PRESS.

IT has already been shown incidentally what an important factor the anarchist paper is in keeping group in touch with group and comrade with comrade. The party, as has been seen, is wanting in any scheme of internal organisation, but this deficiency is remedied to a certain extent by the function performed by its newspaper press. Every organ of the movement devotes a large part of its space to publishing the communications which one group desires to make to another, and to printing correspondence between individual companions. The inner life of the party is reflected in consequence with great fidelity in the pages of its journals. Nowhere else is so vivid a picture of the progress of the agitation obtainable.

The anarchist newspaper is issued in the teeth of innumerable difficulties, of which the inadequacy of the funds at the disposal of its conductors is not the least. Although nothing is paid for contributions, the amount brought in by the sale of the papers is never sufficient to cover the cost of their production. The deficit has to be covered by subscriptions, which are acknowledged

in the editorial columns. Extracts such as the following might be indefinitely multiplied :—

“N., London. S., Savigère. D., Roubaix. D., La Madeleine. A., Angers. P., Châlons. D., Carmaux. A., Damery. L., Châteaudun. S., Ernecourt.. T., Mézières—*Cash recived : thanks.*”

The papers also act as bankers to the party, and receive contributions to its general funds :—

“*Jacques Bonhomme, Saint-Chamond.*—Received four francs towards the expenses of the propaganda.”

They open subscription lists for special purposes, and insert special requests for financial assistance :—

“In consequence of the arrest of the comrades Catineau, Massoubre, Mauduit, and Nicolas, three women and the same number of children are left destitute. Companions and groups who see their way to collect a few pence may forward them to Comrade X., Z. Street, Dijon.”

They put the party on its guard against traitors :—

“LONDON.—The London anarchists warn their companions on the Continent that the informer Coulon, who came out in his true colours at the Walsall trial, is issuing a new paper, the *International*, with the assistance of the individual who calls himself Dupont. Let the comrades take note of this.—MATHA.”

On the other hand, they attest, on occasion, the innocence of a companion who has been unjustly suspected of intelligence with the enemy :—

“A Belgian contemporary having accused Frederick Stackelberg of being a spy in the pay of the Russian Government, we have to announce that we have received protestations against this accusation both from

a group at Nice and from citizen Peter Alissoff, whom we know personally as a Russian refugee."

When necessary they aid in obtaining information as to the doings of suspicious persons :—

"TO THE ANARCHIST POSTIER.—Be so good as to find out what you can about the nest of traitors whose head-quarters is in L. Street. The quicker the better."

Alike in this respect to their capitalist contemporaries, the anarchist organs are greatly concerned with sending up their circulation. They are never tired of inviting their readers to co-operate in this laudable endeavour. Thus the *Révolution* appealed to the comrades in its opening number to combat the apathy of the newsvendors to the best of their ability :—

"Our friends in Paris are urged to ask for the paper at every newsvendor's, so as to force the shopkeepers to keep the journal on sale. If everybody will do his best our future will be assured."

Even the unsold back numbers of the anarchist papers are turned to account :—

"The result of our stock-taking at the end of the year is to place at our disposal a quantity of back copies of the journal. Friends who will undertake to distribute them either at public meetings or to factory hands as they leave their work are requested to let us know the number of copies they can employ to advantage, which will then be forwarded them."

The anarchist editor is a believer in the virtue of the gratuitous specimen number :—

"The *Révolution* will be forwarded free of charge for a few weeks on application."

The provincial comrades are in the habit of arranging

to have their paper sold in the street. They agree to purchase a certain number of copies off the person who undertakes this task, which might not improbably prove thankless. When they can afford it, they unite to pay their salesman a small sum to offer the paper from house to house.

The *Drapeau Noir*, an anarchist journal published at Lyons, recommended the following expedient to the consideration of its supporters :—

“Every companion is agreed on the utility of giving the party organs and pamphlets as wide a circulation as possible. To effect this end something more is necessary than the mere sale of our publications through the ordinary channels.

“We have an expedient to suggest which we deem likely to be effective. Companions who can afford to purchase a few copies for distribution are advised to enclose them separately in neat wrappers, making in this way a parcel that will attract attention, and then to leave them wherever they will be picked up and opened—in the staircases of houses, for instance, and in the baskets which women carry with them when marketing. A good plan would be to give the packets to children in the street, telling them to take them home to their parents.”

In addition to these announcements relating to matters of general party policy, the anarchist papers devote much space to personal communications. A comrade may wish to renew his acquaintance with a companion of whom he has lost sight :—

“Companion X. requests comrade Y., who was arrested with him on the 5th of last May at the Luxembourg, to inform him of his present whereabouts, or any companion having news of Y. is

asked to communicate with the advertiser. This is urgent."

Such trivial matters as books which one companion has lent another, who has failed to return them, find their way into these hospitable columns:—

"A comrade who was present in May at two meetings at Puteaux lent a volume on each occasion to a companion. He asks the borrower to send him his address or to make an appointment to meet him. Reply through the paper."

A comrade occasionally finds it necessary to announce that he is the object of vexatious attentions on the part of the police:—

"Comrade Demure of Roanne warns all his friends, and especially those at the office of the *Tocsin*, to cease sending letters or party publications to his former address, the Jacks-in-office of the district having taken it upon them to lay hands on whatever is forwarded him either by rail or post. They have even gone to the length of paying frequent visits to his house during his absence, and going away with whatever they take a fancy to."

The all-important question of funds is endlessly cropping up:—

"The pamphlet 'Ravachol the Anarchist' is out of print. Companions who have asked for copies will have to wait until a new edition can be published. It would have appeared already were it not that there is no money for the purpose."

Appeals for the prompt settlement of newspaper subscriptions long overdue are frequent:—

"BOURGES.—Comrade Petit requests the companions to pay their subscriptions at least every fortnight, as the funds of the paper are in continual low water."





The insight afforded by the preceding extracts into the methods of anarchist journalism shows that the party newspapers, whatever their shortcomings, are energetically conducted. It would also be futile to deny them a considerable influence. They are written down to the level of their readers, and in general they are brought out with a keen eye to the practical requirements of the public for which they cater.

It is somewhat surprising that the authorities allowed their issue to proceed so long with comparative impunity, occasional prosecutions being quite inadequate to deter men from their purpose who are gifted with unusual tenacity and are prepared to resort to any artifice. Latterly, especially in France, far more stringent measures of repression have been adopted, with the result that the anarchist newspaper has been almost stamped out in that country.

The first journal of avowed anarchist opinions published in France appeared, not, as might have been expected, at Paris, but at Lyons. Between 1880 and 1885 sheet after sheet sprang into existence in this city, the life of the majority extending over a few weeks at the outside. The last to leave the field was the *Insurgé*, which struggled on into the present year, but succumbed at last owing to the repeated seizure by the police of entire issues, and the gradual committal to prison of its staff.

The titles of a few of the anarchist prints which have expired after a brief, though often an eventful, career may be translated for the sake of their significance. There have appeared at various times:—*Social Justice*, *The Revolutionary Standard*, *The Defiance*, *The Struggle*, *The Black Flag*, *The Ahungered*,

*The Land and Liberty, Audacity, The Anarchist Hydra, The Onslaught, The Free Man, The Social Revolution, The Riot, Social Liberty, The International* (published in London), *Want*, and *The Hard Up*.

Another *Onslaught* was issued in Paris by Ernest Gegout, who promptly renounced his advocacy of anarchism on inheriting a small fortune. In the same city appeared for a time *The Conscript*, which distinguished itself by its attacks on the army, many of them cleverly written articles by authors of some prominence in the scientific world, and not otherwise identified with the party. As many as fifty thousand copies of this paper have been distributed at the period of the year when the conscripts are enrolled in the ranks.

Paris was also the scene of the only attempt that has been made to establish a daily anarchist paper. This project was mooted in 1890. The prospectus, which was then published, of the proposed journal is of great rarity. We give a translation in full of this curious document :—

#### “TO THE COMRADES.

“*Paris.*—The companions who attended the meeting held on Sunday, the 6th of July, at Horel’s Assembly-room, agreed to a proposal that the party should attempt to issue a daily anarchist paper. It was decided, after an exhaustive discussion as to whether the scheme were possible, that three thousand copies of the journal could be issued at a daily cost of from 80 to 85 francs. To cover this outlay it would be necessary that two hundred companions should pledge themselves to make a weekly payment of three francs each over a period of two months.

“The scheme of the paper would be as follows:—

“The front page would be devoted to theoretical discussions, and to articles dealing with the revolutionary campaign. The three principal sections of the socialist party would share this page, two columns being placed at the disposal of each section in which to propound its views.

“To avoid disputes, each section would be allowed an independent editor, whose duty it would be to receive the contributions of the writers of his own school, to decide which of them should be inserted, and to forward the matter for publication direct to the printer. The insertion of the announcements of the different sections would proceed upon the same lines.

“The second and third pages would be occupied by parliamentary reports, reports of the sittings of the municipal council, police intelligence, and general information. The cost of this matter would be seven francs a day, and it is intended that it should fill the entire two pages. It may be objected that this matter would be similar in its style and scope to that which appears in the capitalist organs. That is so, but rather than read it and pay for it, as we are compelled to do at present, in the papers of our adversaries, it will at any rate be preferable to obtain it in a journal of our own, where, at least, it will be unaccompanied by the shameful commentaries it is made the object of in the venal press.

“The fourth page will be reserved for advertisements. An announcement will be made at the head of it, that no responsibility is assumed for its contents, which are paid for.

“The companions assembled at Horel's meeting-

room call upon their comrades to make, with as little delay as possible, the necessary arrangements for carrying the scheme into effect, and especially to aid in recruiting the two hundred supporters of the project in a position to pay the weekly subscription, who are indispensable to its realisation.

"We hope our appeal will not be made in vain. It is of urgent importance to throw off our lethargy, and to show that the party is determined to prosecute its ends with vigour and activity.

"There is nothing to be done, then, comrades, but to set to and accomplish what is necessary. Loosen your purse strings, and drop all personal considerations in the interests of the cause. Let us cease to be a party foolishly divided against itself. There should be an end to petty differences of opinion, which are the outcome of narrowmindedness, and only serve to hinder the progress of the agitation and to retard our ultimate success.

"P.S.—The two hundred original subscribers should arrange to hand their contributions to one or more of their number, who will then be in a position to furnish the sum required day by day for bringing out the paper.

"In the meanwhile letters and subscriptions should be addressed to Companion Cabot, 33, Rue des Trois-Bornes, Paris."

Of the numerous anarchist papers <sup>1</sup> that have been

<sup>1</sup> Included in the following list are all the anarchist papers that were appearing at the beginning of 1893, classified according to the language in which they were issued :—

ENGLISH.—*Freedom* (London). *The Commonwealth* (London). *The Torch* (London). *Liberty* (New York). *Solidarity* (New York). *The Workers' Friend*, printed in Hebrew characters (London).

FRENCH.—*The Révolte* (Paris). *The Père Peinard* (Paris). *Revue*

started in France, only one, *La Révolte*, survives, it being now in the sixth year of its existence. Up to the beginning of the present year it had a companion in the *Père Peinard*, but this lively sheet has at last been compelled to retire from the field. The importance of these two journals was far greater than that of any of their party contemporaries; and as the leading exponents of anarchist opinion, though each in a very different way, they merit a longer description than the ephemeral prints of which it has been sufficient to give the name.

Prince Kropotkine founded the *Révolte* at Geneva, under the title of the *Révolte*. The publication of

*libertaire*, formerly the *Revue anarchiste* (Paris). *La Lutte pour la Vie* (Paris). *Harmonie* (Marseilles). The *Société nouvelle* (Brussels). *L'Avenir* (Geneva). The *Libertaire* (Brussels). The *XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Brussels). The *Reveil des Mineurs* (United States).

GERMAN.—*Der Sozialist* (Berlin). *Die Zukunft* (Vienna). *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Salzburg, Austria). *Die Autonomie* (London). *Der Lampenproletarier* (London). *Der Brandfackel* (New York). *Der Anarchist* (New York). *Freiheit* (New York). *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, printed in Hebrew characters (New York). *Der Vorbote* (Chicago). *Der arme Teufel* (Detroit, United States).

ITALIAN.—*Sempre Avanti!* (Leghorn). *L'Ordine* (Turin). *L'Uguaglianza sociale* (Marsala). *Il Riscatto* (Messina). *La Favilla* (Mantua). *Il Pensiero* (Chieti). *La Propaganda* (Imola). *L'Articolo 248* (Ancona). *Il Grido degli Oppressi* (New York). *La Riscossa* (Buenos Ayres). *L'Asino umano* (San Paolo, Brazil).

SPANISH.—*El Corsario* (La Corona). *La Revancha* (Reus). *El Rebelde* (Saragossa). *La Conquista del Pan* (Barcelona). *La Controversia* (Valencia). *El Oprimido* (Algeciras). *El Opremido* (Baron, Chili). *El Despertar* (New York).

SPANISH and ITALIAN.—*Demoliamo* (Santa Fé). *El Derecho alla Vida* (Monte Video).

PORTUGUESE.—*A Revolta* (Lisbon). *Tribuna operaria* (Para, Brazil).

DUTCH.—*Anarchist* (Kralingen, Holland).

CZECH.—*Volné listy* (Vienna). *Volné listy* (New York). *Pemsta* (clandestinely printed).



the paper in Switzerland was forbidden after the anarchist outrage in Berne in 1885. It has since been issued in Paris, the change of name occurring in 1888 in consequence of a criminal prosecution.

The *Révolution* occupies a place by itself among anarchist newspapers. Avoiding the scurrility in which its companions indulge with scarcely an exception, it is sober and dignified in tone. The wish of those who edit it is clearly to be taken seriously—to be recognised as the responsible spokesman of a responsible party. Articles appear in its columns on such subjects as “Utopia by Act of Parliament,” “Extradition Treaties,” “New Developments of the Working Class Movement,” and “Social Suicide,” to give but a few typical citations. The principal headings under which its matter is classified are “The Social Movement,” “Miscellaneous Data on Social Subjects,” and a “Review of the Anarchist Press,” in which extracts and translations are given from the newspapers of the party published throughout the world.

The following is a specimen quotation from the “Social Movement” column:—

“FREE SWITZERLAND.—A well-to-do peasant in the district of Bucheggberg, a believer in the excellent principle that a labourer is worthy of his hire, has two women in his employment. They are engaged in working a hand machine for threshing corn. This man considers himself justified in paying them at the rate of 80 centimes <sup>1</sup> a week each, which makes their daily wage 13 centimes.”

Communications from the anarchist groups, the

<sup>1</sup> About sevenpence-halfpenny.



political events of the week, information concerning strikes, legal intelligence, and reports of anarchist meetings in France and abroad are also grouped under this heading.

The spirit in which the news paragraphs are written in the *Révolte* may be judged from the subjoined extract:—

“We take the following paragraph from the capitalist organs:—

“‘As Madame W——, a rich American lady, was driving, the day before yesterday, on the Boulevard Haussmann in an open carriage, a young man suddenly sprang on to the step of the victoria, snatched a diamond pin from her hat, jumped back on to the road, and ran away.

“‘He was pursued and captured. At the police-station, in reply to the usual questions, he merely said:

“‘“My name is Louis Martin. I am out of work, and it appears to me perfectly natural that I should procure food at the expense of persons who are too rich.”’

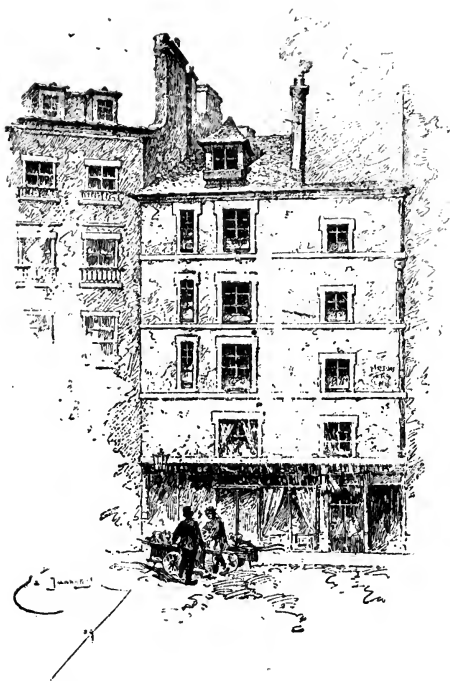
“In reality, nothing can be more foolish than to die of want while others are killing themselves by over-indulgence. This is more especially the case when a man has done his utmost to procure work, and it is due entirely to the defective organisation of society that he is unable to support himself.”

The *Révolte* is a four-page paper, and each number is accompanied by a literary supplement of the same dimensions. It is well printed on good paper. In every respect, indeed, it is attractively got up, and might be said to present the appearance of a journal with capital behind it, were the compliment, under

the circumstances, not rather an insult. The paper is a weekly, and for some years past has appeared every Saturday without interruption. In 1886 the circulation was from five to six thousand. It has since risen to about eight thousand five hundred, of which number a tenth are subscribers' copies. The majority of the persons on the subscription list are inhabitants of country districts where the paper cannot be obtained from a newsvendor, but there also figure in it the names of students of sociology, of scientific and literary men, and of people in every rank of life who take the journal in out of curiosity.

The literary supplement is the outcome of an idea which at least has the merit of ingenuity. The shape it has taken is the result of an argument the more cultivated anarchists are fond of urging. If you choose, they say to their opponents, you may seize our newspapers and suppress our pamphlets; but, do what you will, you cannot prevent our adherents reading the scathing denunciations authors writing from the point of view of the capitalist have published of the unspeakable rottenness of the existing state of society. Their testimony is far more terribly convincing than anything we can say ourselves to justify our demands and our threats.

Carrying out this programme, the supplements are made up of extracts from books and periodical literature, in which well-known writers have depicted the sufferings of the poor, scoffed at the shortcomings of conventional morality, or lashed the vices and ridiculed the prejudices of their contemporaries. Among the contents of one of these supplements, for instance, were the following articles:—"The Right of Every



JEAN GRAVE'S HOUSE IN THE RUE MOUFFETARD, PARIS.

One to the Land," by Herbert Spencer; "The Legion of Honour," by Jules Lemaître; "Not Flattering, but True," by Villiers de l'Isle Adam; "The Professors of To-day," by Zepherin Raganasse; "Parisian Shadows," by Aurelien Scholl; "Society People," by Paul Hervieu.

To return to the journal proper, the articles in it are anonymous; but it is a matter of general knowledge that the principal contributors are Kropotkine, Elisée Reclus, and Jean Grave. With the two first-mentioned writers the public are familiar, at least by name. The third, who is at present in prison, is much less widely known.

Jean Grave is—or rather was—nevertheless the heart and soul of the *Révolution*. The offices of the paper are the apartment he occupies on the fourth floor of a house in the Rue Mouffetard, shown in the accompanying illustration. To reach these more than modest premises it is necessary, after leaving the staircase which ends at the third story, to climb a narrow and dilapidated ladder. Their appearance from within is what the mode of access to them would prepare the visitor to expect. The room is a narrow garret, devoted before it was taken over by its present occupier to the drying of linen and the storing of lumber. At present it is almost filled with piles of newspapers and pamphlets. The scanty space that remains is just sufficient to hold two or three chairs and a table constructed of a couple of boards supported by trestles. It is amid these surroundings that Jean Grave edits and publishes the *Révolution*. In his time he has laboured at various trades. He has been a shoemaker, and a printer's compositor, and is still in the habit of wearing the

black blouse of French workmen of the latter class. His personal appearance is striking ; his fine head and broad forehead announcing exceptional intelligence. Quietly resolute, and yet mild in manner, there is nothing about him that suggests the fiery demagogue who perorates at public meetings. His gift of conciliating sympathy is considerable, and it is hard while in his presence to admit that he can have anything in common with such vulgar criminals as Ravachol or Pini, whose exploits he professes to approve. He is about thirty-five years old.

Of the anarchist writers, Grave ranks next in importance to Kropotkin and Elisée Reclus. He has made it his mission to clothe his theories in clear, simple language, that the least intelligent companion may follow with ease. He possesses in a remarkable degree the talent of popularising complicated problems, and of giving an air of reality to the dreams of imaginative speculators.

Between the *Révolution* and the *Père Peinard* there is a great gulf fixed. Though organs of the same party, the two papers have scarcely anything in common except their price, which in each case is ten centimes.

The editor of the *Père Peinard*, Émile Pouget, was formerly a shop-assistant, not a working-man as Grave was. One of the promoters of the Shop-Assistants Union, his share in this movement cost him his situation. After his dismissal, he obtained employment at a bookseller's, and was thus engaged when arrested for taking part in a riotous demonstration, of which Louise Michel was the leading spirit on the Esplanade des Invalides. His sentence was seven years' imprisonment, but he was released after serving three years of his term.

Whereas the offices of the *Révolte* are on the left bank of the Seine, in the low-lying quarter spread over the valley of the Bièvre, the *Père Peinard* found a home on the opposite side of the river in the Rue d'Orsel, a street which is reached by climbing the heights of Montmartre. Those who are familiar with Paris will see a certain significance in the fact of the papers appearing at these opposite extremes of the city. The staid doctrinal tone adopted by the *Révolte* befits a journal brought out under the shadow of the Sorbonne ; while it is only natural that the expressive, picturesque dialect dear to the frequenters of the Boule-Noire or the Moulin-de-la Galette should have found its way into the pages of the *Père Peinard*.

It is noteworthy that Grave, an ex-shoemaker, should write, when he took up the pen, in polished literary phrases, eschewing vulgarity and all insobriety of language ; and that Pouget, on the other hand, a man exposed to educational influences from his youth, should display an irresistible leaning to the use of slang, and a keen appreciation of the impudent, outspoken cynicism of the Parisian mechanic. The two men, so far as their literary style is concerned, have turned their backs on the class from which they sprang. Grave is solemn and measured in his utterances, which are couched in carefully rounded periods ; Pouget glories in the low, popular expression, pregnant in meaning, but brutal and shameless ; his articles are literal transcriptions of the talk of the slums, and he revels in coarse, virulent abuse.

Theoretical discussions have no place in the columns of the *Père Peinard*, which are filled with

reçu la somme De 6  
li.  
pour un abonnement  
durant six mois  
pour Mr Grove  
Madame Berail

FACSIMILE OF A RECEIPT FOR A SUBSCRIPTION TO THE RÉVOLTE.

rabid attacks on persons and institutions, and blatant scurrility generally. "The scoundrelly rascalities of our Colonial Administration," "The Poor Black Devils swindled again"—reference is made to the collapse of a miners' strike—"They won't bamboozle me," and "Filthy Upstarts"—are specimens of the milder titles of articles in this extraordinary paper. The majority of titles are either indecent or blasphemous, and are quite untranslatable.

The headings under which the matter is arranged are not less significant. "Parisian Jails," "The Court of Injustice"—police and legal intelligence—"Bread or Lead," "Prime Candles"—notices of anarchist publications—"Stabs," "Dynamitings," and "Death to Landlords," are examples.

The latter title is prefixed to reports describing the adventures of lodgers who move from their rooms without paying their rent. An effort has been made in translating the following extract to give an idea of the choice phraseology of the original, to which, however, it is not pretended that justice has been done.

"They cleared out of a house in the Rue Vicq-d'Azir the other Sunday in dandy style.

"A comrade was expecting the bailiffs—an aggravating situation. What he did was to explain his case to a few of the boys, with the result that it was the landlord who came off second best by a long chalk.

"A dozen handy lads took the job in tow, and in the fraction of a jiffy every stick was in the street.

"While this was going on the landlord's man and his wife made row enough to raise the dead.

"But the boys didn't let the grass grow under



their feet, and working like certificated niggers they got through with the performance in a way that set you thinking.

"You bet a crowd or two stowed itself round the



ENTRANCE TO THE OFFICES OF THE *RÉVOLTE*.

door while the entertainment was under way, and if you think there weren't any full-flavoured grins knocking about you're wrong.

"When the lot was packed up the boys hopped, and there was applause in the land, and shouts of

'Down with the landlords,' and 'Hurrah for Anarchy.'

"There were coppers less than a hundred miles off, but they hid their light under a patent double-breasted bushel: it had struck them that if they had showed up they wouldn't have been worth repairing when they reached the hospital."

The *Père Peinard* does not issue a literary supplement, but it publishes novels in instalments. They are novels with a purpose—what purpose it is scarcely necessary to explain. The story appearing when the paper was stopped was entitled, "The Thirty-Six Misfortunes of a Magistrate; being the



ILLUSTRATION HEADING THE COLUMN "BREAD OR LEAD" IN THE *PÈRE PEINARD*.

history of a judge who had fallen upon hard times.' To stimulate the curiosity of the public in this astonishing production the following announcement was made:—

"Do you want to receive the *Père Peinard* for one year

FOR NOTHING? <sup>1</sup>

If so read the 'Thirty-Six Misfortunes of a Magistrate,' which appears on page six.

"The fellow who is smart enough to guess before-

<sup>1</sup> "On the nod, or some slang expression, would be the exact equivalent for the French *à l'ail*."

hand what will be the final misfortune 'of Beauterrier (the hero) will be entitled to a year's subscription to the *Père Peinard*.

"And don't you forget it!"

In spite of its enterprise and ingenuity in catering for the popular taste, the fortunes of the *Père Peinard* have often been at a low ebb. No secret is made of these financial difficulties.

"We are up a nice tree! We can't give the

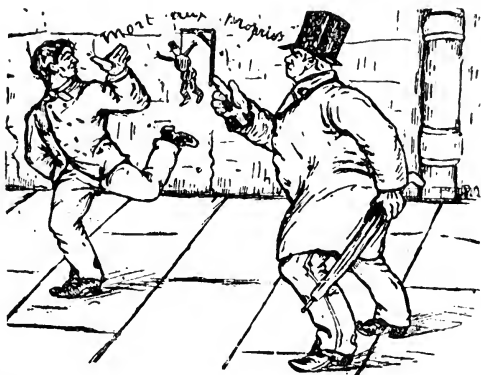


ILLUSTRATION HEADING THE COLUMN "DEATH TO LANDLORDS"  
IN THE *PÈRE PEINARD*.

comrades their money's worth this week, but are obliged to come out with only four pages. The fact that the sellers of the paper won't hurry up with the cash they owe us has a good deal to do with this disaster. They'll have to bestir themselves or there'll be trouble.

"They are asked to remember that the *Père Peinard* is not in possession of a banking account.

"The boys will excuse the short measure; next week we shall give the usual number of pages."

Though money may be scarce in the coffers of the *Père Peinard*, there is no lack of gratuitous contributions. The senders of these communications disapprove of delay in their insertion, and often require to be exhorted to patience :

"In the name of thunder, let the 'pals' who have forwarded paragraphs be patient. We are flooded.

"*Sam* (Charleville). Your 'screed' has been left out from want of room. Plenty of comrades are in the same plight. You must all excuse us. When we publish a 'rag' as big as a blanket, we will see what there is to be done."

No advertisements are printed by the *Révolution*, but the *Père Peinard* did not disdain this source of revenue. The trade announcements in its columns are distinguished by the same peculiarities of style as the literary portion of the paper :—

#### "WHO WANTS DYNAMITE?"

"There is no need to be startled. I mean what I say, my lads : Do you want any dynamite ?

"For three francs you can have a pound. . . . I mean a pint, for I sell my dynamite by the pint.

"And, mind you, it's rare quality. If you suffer from indigestion there's nothing like it for helping you to tackle your grub.

"It's a digestive, in fact, which can give points to chartreuse, and has the further advantage of not being manufactured by monks, but by a comrade, to whom all orders should be sent—Z., X. Street, Y."

It is curious to observe that in the following announcement, the advertisement makes an appeal for capital :

"The comrade Lecuyer has invented a motor

similar in its action to the best type of gas motors, but in which gas is replaced by a chemical material that is cheaply produced, can be readily stored, and is easily transported.

"The motor combines lightness with power; it is easily worked. In consequence of these advantages it is specially suitable for adaptation to tricycles, pleasure carriages, balloons, &c.

"Will any *intelligent capitalist* provide Lecuyer with the means to construct a model adapted to a

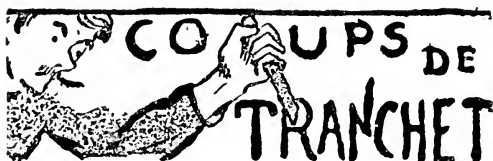


ILLUSTRATION HEADING THE COLUMN "STABS" IN THE  
*PÈRE PEINARD*.

tricycle, and to take out a patent? The sum required would be small.

"A part of the profits would be handed over to the funds of the revolutionary party.

"Letters to be sent to the offices of the paper."

Commercial advertisements, however, in the *Père Peinard* are few and far between. It is otherwise with advertisements of anarchist pamphlets and hand-bills, to which a large amount of space is devoted. Announcements of this latter kind are always accompanied by the following recommendation printed in italics:—

*"Cash must be sent with order."*

A standing offer in the paper is of anarchist songs which are supplied with music at twopence a copy and without at a penny.

With the exception of a few contributed paragraphs and letters Émile Pouget was in the habit of writing the whole of the *Père Peinard* himself without the assistance of a staff. He was responsible at the same time for the issue and posting up of a series of "Manifestoes of the *Père Peinard* to the People."

After its foundation, the *Père Peinard* was gradually increased in size. Just before its disappearance it was an eight-paged sheet, but the numbers that were issued from January of the present year onwards consisted of only four pages. Its average circulation was eight thousand five hundred, but on special occasions, such as a general election, it printed fifteen thousand copies. Complete files of the paper are excessively rare.



ILLUSTRATION HEADING THE COLUMN "THE COURT OF INJUSTICE" IN THE *PÈRE PEINARD*.

## CHAPTER VI.

### ANARCHIST LITERATURE.

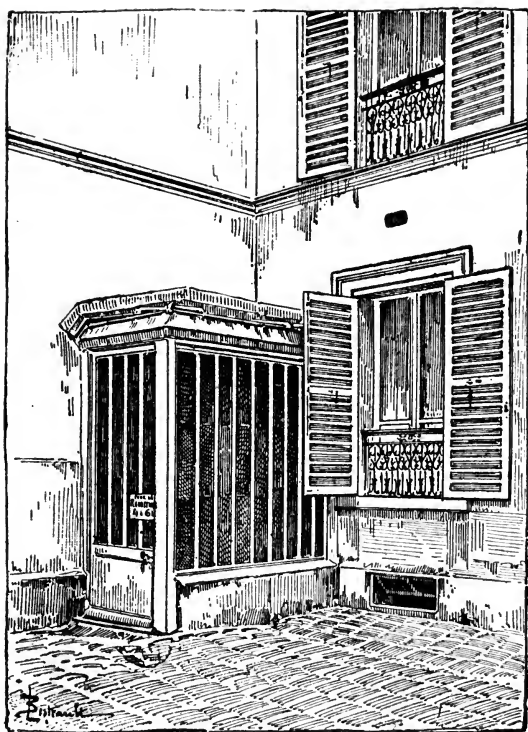
WE have already had occasion to observe that the rise of anarchism has left its mark upon the literature of the period. The doctrine may have small cause to be proud of the poets it has inspired—the best of them would be more properly alluded to as poetasters—but it has produced at least one gifted pamphleteer in the person of Elisée Reclus, and one journalist, Jean Grave, whose work is not without merit. This does not, however, exhaust the list of its achievements. While the claim of the party to have suggested a practicable solution of the social problem will be generally contested, the cogency of certain of the arguments which it advances in justification of its hostile attitude to the existing order of things has long been recognised outside the anarchist ranks. The belief that everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds was never in less repute than at present. So far as it is thought to be genuine or reasonable, the sympathy of the anarchists with suffering in every form, their hatred of injustice, is widely shared. In reality, they have taken a cry which is in every mouth, and turned it into a hys-

terical shriek. The rational basis on which they have reared their superstructure of extravagances is the explanation of their influence over some minds of undoubted capacity but extremely impressionable.

It is more particularly in France that the theories of anarchism have attracted the sympathetic attention of a handful of the educated and literary classes. The numerous periodical publications issued in Paris by the various coteries of the capital, after adopting a revolutionary attitude on purely artistic questions, proceeded by a natural evolution to lend their countenance to extreme political and social views. It was unlikely that so pronounced a movement should long be confined to so restricted an arena, and it soon found expression in literary productions that appealed to a wider public. French fiction, from the naturalistic tendencies of its writers, was already familiar with vivid pictures of the shadier sides of contemporary society, so that similar delineations, conceived in a spirit of implicit indictment of the institutions described, were only a partial innovation. It is noteworthy that the most vigorous and successful attacks of the kind were aimed against the army, an object, as has been shown, of special detestation to the militant anarchists. The sales were exceedingly large of several novels—"Sous-Off," by Lucien Descaves, and "Biribi," by G. Darien, being the most conspicuous—exhibiting the military system in a very unfavourable light; and two more serious works, the "Psychology of the Professional Soldier," and the "Soldier's Catechism," of which the avowed purpose was identical, have been widely circulated.

With scarcely an exception, the advocates of these subversive theories are young men of undeniable





ENTRANCE TO THE OFFICES OF *L'EN-DEHORS*.

literary ability, but whose reputation is in many instances yet to make. Their conversion has naturally been hailed with enthusiasm by what may be termed the working members of the party, and the leaders of the movement have been careful to stimulate the ardour of these talented recruits by flattery and other marks of favour. "My best wishes are with you," wrote Elisée Reclus to the staff of the *Entretiens*, a magazine of the sort alluded to above. "You have my warmest admiration, for it is in you, the younger disciples of the doctrine, that lies our hope. My heartiest greetings to you, who have the courage to work yourselves in the ranks of those who are up in arms against society." The leading spirits of the magazine hastened to show themselves worthy of this approbation by printing in the *Entretiens*, which was started as a purely literary publication, the chemical formula of dynamite as established by Berthelot, Jungfleisch, and other prominent scientists.

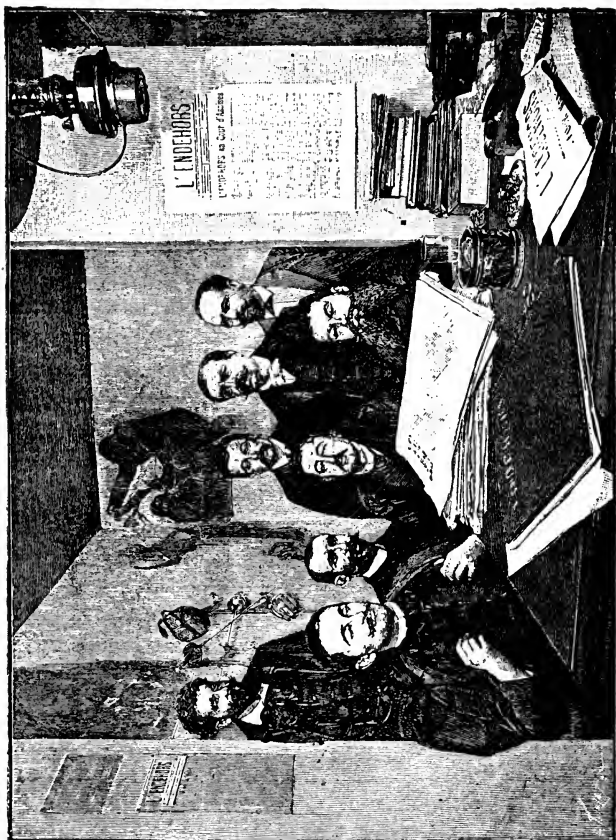
Doubts have often been expressed as to the sincerity of these literary converts, who are prodigal of eloquent phrases, but have displayed no disposition up till now to suit the action to the word. As they can only be judged by their own declarations and professions of faith, the point is difficult to determine, more especially as their utterances are inclined to be obscure. The true explanation may be that, seduced by those aspects of the anarchist programme which appeal to their artistic sensibility, they have often mistaken or wilfully confounded a mere dilettanteism with genuine conviction.

The most interesting, and in every way the most important review that has signalised itself in this campaign is the *En-Dehors*, founded, in 1891, by M. Zo

d'Axa, a pseudonym that covers the more commonplace name of Galland. Nearly all the prominent writers, imbued with the new doctrine, were soon among the contributors ; and the offices of the paper, a cellar in the Rue Bochart-de-Sarron, in Paris, became the rendezvous of the militant leaders of the anarchist party, as well as of literary men in sympathy with the agitation. Some of the best-known figures at these curious gatherings are shown in a photograph which we reproduce. Jean Grave we have already had occasion to speak of at some length. Octave Mirbeau is notorious as the author of a glorification of Ravachol, to which we shall shortly return ; and M. Tabarant is another worshipper at the same shrine. Malato, one of the most determined and dangerous of the active, fighting anarchists, is also known by his book, "The Christian Revolution and the Social Revolution." Bernard Lazare is counted among the most talented of the younger Parisian journalists. A Hamon is the author of the "Psychology of the Professional Soldier," mentioned above.

The licence accorded in France to whatever savours of earnest literary endeavour, procured *L'En-Dehors* immunity for a time from the police interference that sooner or later has brought so many professedly anarchist publications to an untimely end. Emboldened by this toleration, the audacity of the review grew apace, till the scandal became so crying, that the authorities at last decided to stop it by the suppression of the paper. The editor, Zo d'Axa, was prosecuted, and condemned to two years' imprisonment—a sentence he is still serving.

This was not the first adventure in a chequered



ZO D'ANA.  
 JEAN GRAVE, MIRBEAU, BERNARD LAZARE.  
 TABARANT. A. HAMON. MALATO. A COMPOSITOR.

THE EDITORIAL OFFICES OF *L'EN-DEHORS*.

and eventful career. Most of the incidents, however, in the life of Zo d'Axa, who is the son of a wealthy engineer, are of the Don Juanesque order, and need not be recounted here. His intellectual characteristics are of greater interest. Possessed of keen artistic sensibility, of a cynical, combative, satirical temperament, he is the type of the revolutionary who is largely actuated in his revolt against society by æsthetic considerations. The conclusions of the schools, the arid deductions of the scientific sociologists are not for him. He is concerned with shaping an Utopia that shall satisfy his sense of fitness and beauty ; whether it is realisable or not is no matter. Anarchism, in his view, is at best but an excuse for propounding his visionary schemes, and with its practical aspirations he has no business. Indeed, although hailed as an anarchist by the party, he disclaims the title in his writings ; in the following extract for example :—

“To sympathise, on the whole, with the work of destruction that is imminent, it is not indispensable to be an anarchist. All those who are galled in their inmost being by the conventional restraints at present in force instinctively long for a revenge, that shall be as dire as their sufferings have been. Countless are the existing institutions that bear the fatal stamp of approaching dissolution. There is no need for those who are engaged in hastening the advent of the inevitable catastrophe to hope that it will be followed by improved conditions of life. They are aware that already they have their reward ; their passion is destruction, and they are employed in gratifying their passion. What farther pleasure should they wish for ?”

In another article which we proceed to quote from, Zo d'Axa is even more outspoken:—

“... We are habitually alluded to in the press as anarchists. It is time to inquire: ‘Are we anarchists?’ The answer is, ‘We are not.’

“Neither confessed anarchists, nor avowed socialists, we follow our individual bent, without a Faith that saves but also blinds. The fruits of our quarrel with society are not steadfast convictions. We are at war because we delight in war, and not in the hope of profiting by any advantages that may accrue from victory. Of what concern to us is To-morrow, a cycle, that is to say, of centuries? What concern have we with our descendants? Our will is to live in the present. Our aim is to give free rein to our pity, to our pain, to our hatred, to our instincts, untrammelled by all laws, all conventions, all theories—even the theories of anarchism. Our ambition is to be ourselves!

“We hold that the Celestial city, the ideal, adequate future, is still unrevealed.

“We have not met with the infallible touchstone of truth. The panorama of life is ceaselessly changing; our appreciation of facts varies from moment to moment with the light in which we view them. We are caught in a current, and are content to go without a struggle when it takes us. Nothing can be simpler.”

Whatever may be thought of the intellectual attitude Zo d'Axa has chosen to adopt, it must be admitted that there is a note of sincerity, a vein of genuine feeling in the utterances of a man who moreover, did not shrink from paying the penalty of his opinions. A distinction ought in mere justice to

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5 fr. l'an. — EXT. : 6 fr.

La  
**Revue libertaire**

*L'État est la malédiction de l'individu. — Ibsen.*

**AUGUSTE VAILLANT :** *Roses étoilées*  
fragment autographe d'un poème inédit

S. Merino  
Charles-Albert  
les Uns  
Maupérthuis  
Gaston Dubois  
Emile Hilde

*Réponse à Paul Reclus*  
*Entre amis.*  
*Des Faïts.*  
*Du concept de Révolution.*  
*« Ames solitaires ».*  
*Œuvres et ouvrages*  
*L'agitation*

Adressez tout ce qui concerne la Revue aux

SECRÉTAIRES

Charles Chatel. — Henri Gauche  
33, rue Gabrielle, — Paris.

FACSIMILE OF THE FRONT PAGE OF THE REVUE  
LIBERTAIRE.

be drawn between men of his calibre and the medley of irresponsible phrasemongers, who have made the profession of anarchist views a short cut to notoriety. It would be wrong, for instance, to place Zo d'Axa on a level with M. Laurent Tailhade, who achieved momentary fame, by remarking after the outrage of Vaillant in the Chamber of Deputies : "What matter the victims, so long as the attitude is fine?"

In addition to Zo d'Axa, the most notable writers on the *En-Dehors* were O. Mirbeau, Alex. Cohen, Sebastian Faure, Arthur Byl, A. Tabarant, Vielé-Griffin, Bernard Lazare, Lucien Descaves, G. Darien, H. de Regnier, Paul Adam, René Ghil, Saint-Pol-Roux, Verhaeren, H. F. Hérold, Saunier, Edmond Couturier, Jules Christophe, V. Barrucand, Tristan Bernard, Etienne Decrept, Jules Méry, P. Quillard, and L. Malquin. The list may be found of interest as giving the leaders of a movement that has the saving merit of being curious.

*En-Dehors* was a weekly paper, but, in the language of those who were responsible for its appearance, it did not come out in numbers but in "cries." It circulated on an average some six thousand copies. The title chosen, of which the literal meaning is "outside," was explained by the following epigraph : "The man who is enrolled beneath no banner, who is guided solely by the dictates of an impulsive nature, such a man, a creature of complex passions, recognising no law, adhering to no school, an isolated seeker of that which is behind the veil, is he not described by this word : 'l'En-Dehors!'"

Of the articles which appeared in this paper, one of those that attracted most attention was that written by Octavé Mirbeau after the trial of Ravachol in



Paris, at which the jury gave him the benefit of "extenuating circumstances," with the result that he was only condemned to penal servitude for life. We quote portions of this article :

"Can it be that the jury, above the clamour dinning into their ear the appalling horror of this murderer's act, heard a voice prophetic of the coming future, when the idea which lay at the root of this act, which made it an act apart, which lent it grandeur, will have won recognition? . . .

". . . I abhor the spilling of blood, suffering, and death. I love life, and to me all life is sacred. This is the reason why I seek in the anarchist ideal what no other form of government can give me: love, beauty, peace between men. Ravachol does not inspire me with terror. He is transient as the fear he instils.

". . . Society alone begot Ravachol. It sowed suffering and it reaped revolt. This is just.

"Besides there are other matters that must be borne in mind. . . . We are traversing a hideous winter. Misery was never more acute than at present, because it was never more conscious, because it never existed in closer contact with the spectacle of wasted wealth, with the coveted promised land whence it is ever excluded. . . . The shops are filled with clothes, and there are human beings who are naked; they are crammed with food and there are human beings who are starving.

". . . The bitterest cry awakens no echo: if a murmur threatens to swell into a roar, the rifles click and the troops march out. . ."

The void left by the disappearance of *En-Dehors* was filled before long by the *Revue Anarchiste*, which

under the less aggressive title of the *Revue libertaire* was issued up to last March. Most of the staff of the old review were among the writers on its successor, to which Elisée Reclus, Clovis Hugues, Charles Malato, and Gabriel Randon also contributed. The first number contained the opening chapter of a book by the well-known companion Sebastien Faure, "The Universe of Woe." This work, which is to extend to three volumes, will give when finished a complete statement of the anarchist doctrine, and of the grounds upon which it is based. A considerable flourish of trumpets had preceded the publication of this chapter from the *magnum opus*, but the promised masterpiece proved a very sorry compilation, consisting of pompous platitudes written in a bombastic style. Two quotations will suffice to illustrate its cheap pessimism:—

"Life, from the cry of the baby to the last groan of the dying man is but a long martyrdom. A chain of anguish links the cradle with the tomb. The joy of living is a mere empty expression.

"The generations of men are ceaselessly crushed by the steam hammer of suffering. Grief, like a cancer, covers humanity with its hideous sores."

Reviews of minor importance, that publish amongst other matter articles embodying anarchist conclusions, are the *Mercure de France*, the *Ermitage*, the *Écrits pour l'art*, the *Idée libre*, the *Revue Blanche*, the *Art Social* (Marseilles), the *Harmonie* (Marseilles), and the *Société Nouvelle* (Brussels), the *Plume*, and *l'Art et la Vie*.

<sup>4</sup> The editor of the *Art Social* is M. Gabriel de la Salle, who, though employed in a house of business, is a poet in his leisure hours. He is a profound believer in the anarchist doctrine, which he preaches

in his writings with the unction of a fervent apostle. His review is chiefly interesting for the series of anarchist publications that have been reproduced in facsimile in its pages.

The *Revue Blanche* is brought out by M. Paul Adam, the author of numerous novels of rather more than average merit, the better known being "Chair Molle," "La Glèbe," "Robes Rouges," and "A Moi." M. Adam has also won reputation as a writer on ethnology. He is thirty-two years old, and gifted with a brilliant imagination. In appearance, he is as unlike the conventional idea of an anarchist as possible, being always irreproachably dressed in the height of the fashion.

The *Société Nouvelle*, though writers of anarchist tendencies find hospitality in its pages, is chiefly devoted to articles on science, literature, and the arts, by authors of more orthodox opinions. The editor, F. Brouez, is a Belgian, thirty years old, and a man of independent fortune.

Passing from periodicals to books, notices similar to that which follows are not uncommon in the party newspapers :—

"The X. group of anarchist working-men has decided to establish a library.

"Premises have been rented for this purpose, and we beg our comrades to help us in our task by sending books, pamphlets, newspapers, and periodical literature.

"We already possess a certain number of books that have been lent or given us, but it is most desirable that the works of Büchner, Haeckel, Darwin, Herbert Spencer, Tolstoï, Herzen, Bakounine, and Elisée Reclus should be on our shelves."

One more request of the same kind may be quoted, on account of the name that was soon to become so notorious, of the anarchist librarian from whom it emanated :—

“A society has been founded at Choisy-le-Roi having for its aim the study and popularisation of the natural sciences. A library will be founded in connection with the society, and from time to time scientific lectures will be given under its auspices.

“Comrades who are in a position to make us presents of books are requested to forward them to M. Aug. Vaillant, 17, Rue de la Raffinerie, Choisy-le-Roi.”

It is hardly necessary to say that the Vaillant in question was soon to have his name in every mouth as the author of the bomb explosion in the Chamber of Deputies.

The books that find a place in an anarchist library may be divided into two catagories. The first consists of the works of materialist philosophers, such as Büchner (“Matter and Force”), Babeuf and Guyau, or of scientific writers among whom Darwin is held in special honour. In the second class are included the writings of avowed anarchists, and scientists noted for their hostile criticism of existing social institutions.

The range of purely anarchist literature is somewhat restricted. The books of Proudhon, “What is Property?” and the “Creation of Order,” rank first in date of publication. “The Future of the Individual,” by Max Stirner, follows. Bakounine’s work, “God and the State,” has already been mentioned. Kropotkine has collected his innumerable pamphlets, lectures, and newspaper articles, and

issued them in two volumes, which may be said to constitute the anarchist gospel: "The Message of a Rebel," and "The Battle for Bread." Jean Grave also is responsible for two volumes: "Anarchism and Moribund Society," and "Society after the Revolution." Elisée Reclus has published nothing up till now in book form. Among the books which the anarchists claim to be favourable to their doctrine may be mentioned, "Prejudice and Anarchism," by François Guy; the "Book of Suffering," by Louise Michel; "The Christian Revolution and the Social Revolution," by Charles Malato; "Parliamentary Assemblies," by Émile Leverdays; "Civilisation and the Great Rivers," by Mentschikoff; "Red Pages," by Séverine; "Germinal," by Émile Zola; "Chantrel's Factory," by Frantz Jourdain; "Salvation is in Yourselves," by Count Leon Tolstoï; "The House of the Dead," by Dostoieffski; "What is to be Done?" by Tchernikowski; "In the Palace," by Floridor Dumas; "Non-commissioned Officers," by Lucien Descaves; "Biribi," by G. Darien; "The Psychology of the Professional Soldier," by A. Hamon; "The Soldier's Catechism," by M. Charnay; and the works of Ibsen, Lethominoff and Létourneau.

The paucity of anarchist books is made up for in a measure by an extensive output of pamphlets, a form of literature in high favour with the party, as there has already been occasion to remark.

The publication, sale, and circulation of anarchist pamphlets has been almost monopolised by the *Révolution*. The price of these brochures ranges from five to seventy-five centimes, or from less than a half-penny to about sevenpence farthing. This low scale of charges enables a comrade to acquire a tolerably

thorough knowledge of the doctrine for an expenditure of two or three shillings. It also allows the poorest companions to aid in spreading anarchist principles. The utmost pains are taken to instil converts to the cause with the missionary spirit. The injunction, "Read and Circulate," is commonly printed on the covers of the pamphlets, to remind the purchaser that he has a duty to his neighbour as well as to himself.

The writers of these broadsheets prefer in many instances to remain anonymous. Still a number of them are signed, and bear the names of Elisée Reclus, Kropotkine, Darnaud, Sebastien Faure, Charles Malato, A. Hamon, Johann Most, G. Etiévant, and D. Saurin, to mention only the more prominent of the anarchist pamphleteers. When the author is given, a notable moderation in tone is observable. Some of the most popular of these publications have reached a circulation of from thirty to sixty thousand copies.

Three of Kropotkine's pamphlets, "The Wage-earning System," "The Spirit of Revolt," and "Law and Authority," are accompanied by the following curious notice :—

"Seven thousand copies of this sheet have been issued in accordance with the wish of our comrade, Lucien Massé, a hairdresser of Ars-en-Ré, who left sufficient money in his will to the *Révolution* to cover the expenses of production."

The pamphlets in greatest request are : "Anarchists and their Theories," "Our Prisons," "Police Spys," "Do What you Choose," "The Defence of G. Etiévant," "The Plague of Religion," "Law and Authority," "Order through Anarchy," "To the Young," "Evolution and Revolution," "A Century of

Waiting," "The Wage-earning System," "Anarchism in the Criminal's Dock," "Between Peasants," "The Anarchists and What they Want?" "Ravachol the Anarchist," "Ravachol and Carnot in Hell," "Free Love," "Wealth and Poverty," and "Anarchist Ethics."

A fund, raised through the columns of the anarchist newspapers and by other means, has enabled the party to print several pamphlets intended for free distribution. Among them is one, "The Rich and the Poor," of which the history is remarkable. It is issued by the "Group for spreading anarchist-communist opinions by the aid of gratuitously distributed pamphlets." Its contents are two articles, entitled "Rothschild" and "Roubaix" (one of the largest manufacturing towns in France), which were originally published in the *Paris Figaro*, a paper notorious for its conservative views. They are taken from a series of interviews with persons in a position to speak with authority on the social question, contributed by M. Jules Huret, a talented Parisian journalist, in no way connected with the anarchist agitation. The comrades, however, are of opinion that the articles furnish most forcible arguments in favour of anarchism, and they have in consequence reprinted them, and circulated fifty thousand copies of the pamphlet in which they are contained. The only charge made for these and other broadsheets for free distribution is the cost of transport.

Until 1886 the anarchist propaganda was carried on solely by means of newspapers, public meetings, and pamphlets. Pictorial and illustrated matter, which appeals, as has often been proved, with great force and directness to the classes of the population

with whose conversion the anarchists are chiefly concerned, was not pressed into the service of the party before that date. At least there had only been a single instance of any effort of the kind. This was the issue in 1883 of a life-size portrait of Louise Michel. In May, 1886, the *Révolution* alluded to this question in the following terms:—

“There is one means of propagating the doctrine that has often occupied our attention, but the question of expense has hitherto stood in the way of our adopting it. We refer to illustrated publications. The funds at our disposal do not unfortunately permit of our issuing engravings produced at our own cost, but there appears to us to be no reason why we should not utilise the prints of our opponents. This idea occurred to me while turning over the pages of an illustrated newspaper—the *Illustration*, I believe. The picture I have in my mind showed the Decazeville miners marching past the chief engineer preparatory to their resumption of work. The representative of the capitalists, guarded by police and soldiers, stands in a haughty, disdainful attitude while the miners, with uncovered heads, file before him. I do not remember having seen a more striking picture of shameful inequality. The triumph of a senseless system, and the degradation of labour could not be better illustrated than in this drawing which is published by our enemies. We should do well to keep it constantly before our eyes.

“We would suggest that the companions raise a fund for the purchase and distribution of engravings of this sort.”

The idea was ingenious, and an attempt was made to carry it into effect, but fell through owing to the



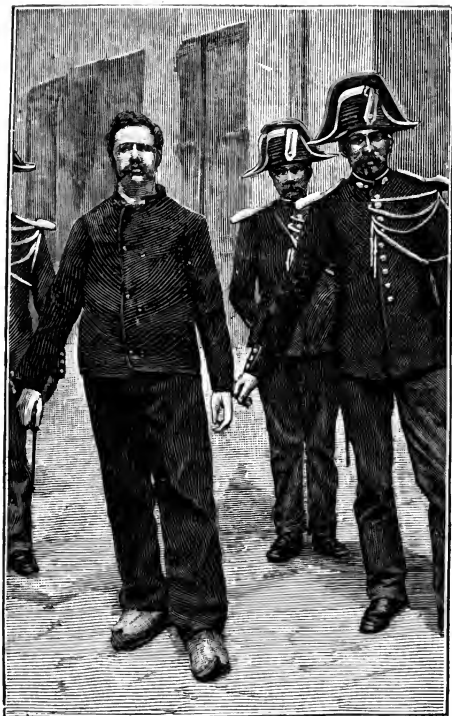
refusal of the proprietors of the illustrated papers to part with their blocks. Thrown back upon their own resources the anarchists, as is their custom, set to work with a will to strengthen a weak point in their propaganda. The growing numbers of the party facilitated this task by lightening the financial difficulty, and the companions were soon in the field with a host of illustrations of their own.

The *Père Peinard* was the first paper to publish anarchist caricatures. It began their issue in 1888 and continued the series regularly, publishing an engraving every week on its eighth and last or back page. The selection of these drawings which we reproduce will give a good idea of their character. Their object is to bring home the theories of anarchism to the least impressionable mind, to give to abstract ideas the reality—of such import to uncultivated minds—of the thing seen. The caricatures are intended both to raise a laugh and to stimulate reflection. It is noticeable that as yet only the negative theories of anarchism have been illustrated. The doctrine preaches: "An end to capital, an end to nationality, an end to the army, and an end to the well-to-do classes." The anarchist caricature attacks and ridicules these foundations of existing society—of the moribund social organisation, as Jean Grave would have it. On the other hand, it is impossible, so far as we are aware, to point to a single drawing in which the society of the future is depicted.

A measure of artistic vigour and imaginative strength cannot be denied the better of these pictorial manifestations of anarchism. Some of them are, in fact, the work of artists of indubitable talent. Among the men who have furnished the *Père Peinard*

with designs are Ibels, Felix Passaro, Luce, Willette (so well known by his work on the *Courier Français*), G. Maurin, Gravelle, and Valoton. Many of these names will be familiar to students of modern French art. They are the names of men who have signalled themselves as daring innovators in artistic methods. In revolt against the traditions of the schools, they have found it easy to sympathise with the subversive theories of anarchism, a tendency previously observed in the case of men occupying an analogous position in literature.

A noteworthy development of this pictorial propaganda was originated by the *Révolution*, and may perhaps be traced to the influence of Kropotkine, to whom, as a Russian acquainted with the practices of the Greek Church, it may readily have occurred. Allusion is made to publications that may fitly be termed the sacred pictures of anarchism, fulfilling as they do a mission akin to that of the likenesses of saints. Ingeniously adapting this conception to its own ends, the *Révolution* began by issuing portraits of the two men, Proudhon and Bakounine, to whom the party traces its origin. Proudhon provided a philosophic basis for the doctrine by his memorable declaration that "property is robbery." The obligations the movement is under to Bakounine have been described. It has to be conceded that the portraits in question are exquisite works of art. They are what is technically known as "dry points," and were executed by Barbottin, an engraver of great talent, who is the "husband"—their union is "free," that is to say, it has not been ratified by any civil or religious authority—of the adopted daughter of Elisée Reclus. The publication of these engravings has been an immense



RAVACHOL AT THE PRISON OF MONTBRISON.

success, the companions eagerly purchasing them, flattered no doubt by the idea that they were adopting the theories of men of such a thoughtful and dignified cast of countenance.

The efforts of the *Révolution* in this direction did not end here. On November 11, 1887, four anarchists, Parsons, Spies, Engel, and Fisher, were hanged at Chicago. *Two comrades*—they withheld their identity, appending this signature to their work—produced an engraving intended to perpetuate the memory of this quadruple execution, which constitutes one of the earliest pages in the anarchist martyrology. As we reproduce this curious composition it is needless to describe it, but it may be remarked that the priest-like figure standing by the flaming tripod at the feet of the victims has been the subject of much adverse comment on the part of the companions. The anarchist—and his orthodoxy is above suspicion—who supplied the present writer with the engraving from which the illustration is taken, observed in this connection that “if this blunder had been kept out of the drawing we should have distributed a hundred thousand copies of it amongst the comrades throughout the world, so that they might never be without the spectacle of this martyrdom to quicken their zeal.”

The series of what we have termed the sacred pictures of anarchism is completed by the portraits and symbolical representations of Ravachol, all of which we reproduce. The words on the scroll surrounding the very flattering photograph of this egregious “martyr,” on page 244, are “The Future of Humanity lies in Anarchism,” and Proudhon’s maxim, “Property is Robbery.” The inscription at



ILLUSTRATION ON THE COVER OF THE ALMANAC ISSUED BY  
THE PÈRE PEINARD.

the bottom of the portrait gives the last words of Ravachol, "If you want to be happy, by heavens, hang your landlord." As has been stated, this is a quotation from the anarchist song of the "*Père Duchesne*."

The photograph on page 143 represents Ravachol in the exercise yard of Montbrison prison. Under what circumstances it was taken is a mystery.

Signs are not wanting that the enthusiasm in favour of Ravachol will shortly subside. It is recognised that the many unsavoury incidents in his career are a stumbling-block to the weaker brethren, and the party can afford to allow him to drop into well-deserved oblivion now that it can boast such infinitely more reputable martyrs as Vaillant and Émile Henry.

In 1892 the anarchists added to their other publications an almanac. Sebastien Faure was responsible for its production, which was attended by an amusing incident. By some unaccountable oversight Faure carefully enumerated the saints' days in the calendar which according to custom occupied the opening pages of the work. The disgust of the *Révolution* and the *Père Peinard*, whence the money for the issue of the almanac had come, may be imagined. The almanac was ultimately put on sale with the offending pages torn out.

In consequence perhaps of this inauspicious essay no almanac was issued by the party in 1893, but at the beginning of the present year an "Almanac of the *Père Peinard*" saw the light, with the revolutionary calendar duly installed in the post of honour. This calendar contains a register of the notable events in the history of anarchism, recounted in the peculiar

style adopted in the columns of the *Père Peinard*. The following are typical extracts:—

"JANUARY 12, 1887.—Clement Duval condemned to death for a little matter of murder, complicated by his having made a few bullet holes in the skin of Detective Rossignol.

"Not daring to guillotine him the Government packed him off to New Caledonia."

"SEPTEMBER 28, 1883.—Inauguration at Niederwald of the statue of Germania glorifying the war of



ILLUSTRATION SYMBOLICAL OF SUMMER IN THE ALMANAC OF THE PÈRE PEINARD.

1870. Reinsdorff and his 'pals' arrange a powder mine, and would have blown up the German tyrant and his following, if a scoundrel hadn't put the police on their track."

"APRIL 22, 1892.—Arrests of anarchists all over France in connection with the trial of Ravachol, and expected disturbances on May 1st. An unutterable idiot of a minister, Loubet by name, assures the money-grubbers that they can sleep in peace, as all the comrades are in 'quod.' On the evening of the 26th there is a monumental explosion at Véry's Restaurant. Hence a new word—*very-fication*."

"NOVEMBER 8, 1892.—A bomblet intended for

Baron Reille, of Carmaux notoriety, bursts merrily at the police station in the Rue des Bons-Enfants."

In a forthcoming almanac a suitable date is promised from which to reckon the years of the anarchist era.



## CHAPTER VII.

### ACTIVE MEASURES.

ON December 3, 1876, the *Bulletin of the Jura Federation* published the following manifesto, emanating from the Italian Federation, and signed by Enrico Malatesta and Carlo Cafiero, the latter of whom died seven years later in a lunatic asylum :—

“The Italian Federation is of opinion that open insurrection, resorted to with a view to emphasise socialist principles by acts, is the most effective means of propagating those principles, and the only means that without corrupting or deceiving the masses can influence society to the very core, and press into the service of the cause championed by the International the forces of humanity that lie below the surface.”

A few months later, early in April, 1877, Cafiero, Malatesta, and Ciccarelli proceeded to put their theories into practice. They took to the field at the head of a band of rioters, burned a number of municipal buildings, and distributed amongst the populace a sum of Government money that fell into their hands.

The advisability of resorting to force to further the aims of the party was eagerly canvassed in anarchist

circles from the moment the suggestion was made. In the discussions that ensued it was pointed out, very pertinently in the opinion of the more adventurous spirits, that minorities in the past, as history was there to prove, had had no scruple in resorting to armed rebellion. But even if violent measures were held to be justifiable, there remained for consideration the form they could most profitably assume under existing circumstances.

Commenting on the petty insurrection alluded to above, the *Bulletin of the Jura Federation* remarked : "By burning the municipal buildings and the archives they contained our friends have shown the people in what respect they should hold property. By returning to the people money collected by the tax-gatherers they have shown them in what contempt they should hold the Government."

Since this period the propagation of anarchist principles by active measures has proceeded side by side with their theoretical inculcation. Such acts of violence are—in Germany, the attempt of Doctor Nobeling on the life of the Emperor William I. ; in Russia, the wounding of General Trepov by Vera Zassoulitch ; in Italy, the narrow escape of King Humbert I. from death at the hands of Passanante ; and in Spain, the attempt of Otero Gonzales on the life of King Alphonso XII.

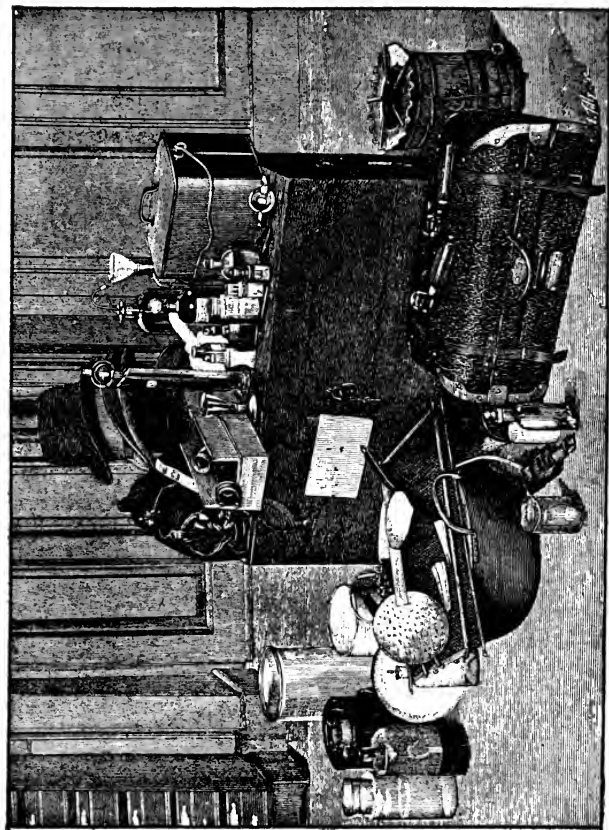
"The anarchist idea is making progress," wrote the party newspaper, the *Avant-Garde*, in 1878, "by dint of relying on two forces which supplement each other, on the contagious enthusiasm provoked by actions and on the persuasive power of argument. If the influence of one of these forces is greater than that of the other, it is assuredly the case that action is of

more value than argument, that example is better than precept. . . . A deed done is something of which all the world must take cognisance, must approve or disapprove. It is a matter of common observation that the inculcation of theory even at haphazard is fruitful in results. Our wish is to inaugurate an era of action no longer aimless or at least unorganised, but systematised with a view to compass a definite purpose. . . . *Regicide* is only effective as a means to realise a purely republican ideal. . . . Of more immediate interest to us, to anarchists, is the action of our Italian comrades, who at San Lupo and elsewhere directly attacked the State. Rely on it, the peasantry of the districts which were the scene of these speaking acts understood their import."

The attitude of the anarchists with respect to such outrages as those of Zassoulitch, Nobeling, and Passanante is clearly indicated in the above extract. The party recognises that these outrages, conceived in a republican spirit, will at best assist only indirectly in the furtherance of their cause. It prefers hostility not to the heads of the Government, but to the government itself, or rather the entire social system. The Congress of the Jura Federation, held in 1878, gave utterance to this view, pronouncing in favour of insurrection as against attacks on individuals. Paul Brousse, one of the speakers at this congress, insisted on the fact that the policy of violence was daily gaining ground. On the same occasion Kropotkine said that "the object of the anarchists in resorting to armed insurrection was to excite the mass of the population to join in an active crusade against property, and to aid in the work of destroying the State."

In spite of these views of the leaders of the party, such deeds of violence as continued to be perpetrated from time to time savoured more of the methods of the ancient regicides than of popular insurrection. In Russia, for instance, the Nihilists blew up the Winter Palace, the Tzar only escaping to fall a victim the following year to the bombs of Ryssakoff, Jelaboff, Sophie Perovskaya, Mikhailoff, Helfmann, and Kibaltchitck. These and other events made it clear that violence was inscribed on the party programme, and the International Congress of revolutionary socialists, held in London in 1881, felt called on in consequence to consider the subject. The congress pronounced in favour of supplementing by active measures the propagation of the doctrine.

In 1882 riotous disturbances that might be considered a response to the oft-repeated counsels of insurrection, broke out at Monceau-les-Mines, in France. Disorderly bands pillaged and set fire to a church and destroyed the Calvaries that are so common a feature on the roadside in Catholic countries. Some twenty prisoners were brought to trial in connection with these troubles, and several of them were sentenced to imprisonment. In March of the following year, a number of bakers' shops were looted in Paris by organised mobs, two of the leaders of the movement, Louise Michel and Emile Pouget, being taken and heavily sentenced. A few months earlier a bomb had exploded in the Café Bellecour at Lyons, killing one person and wounding many others. The authorities were unsuccessful in laying hands on the author of this outrage, but they prosecuted Cyvoct, a well-known anarchist, as an accomplice. He was acquitted on this count, but



MATERIALS FOR MANUFACTURING BOMBS FOUND AT KAYACHOL'S HOUSE AT SAINT-MANDÉ.

condemned to death for having published articles inciting to murder in an anarchist newspaper issued at Lyons. His sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life, and he was transported to New Caledonia.

The exemplary punishment of Cyvoct had little or no deterrent effect on his comrades. The paper with which he had been connected had disappeared, but its successor, the *Struggle*, was scarcely less aggressive in tone. In some respects it went even further than its prototype. Under the grimly humorous heading of "Anti-Capitalist Products," it was the first anarchist journal to publish the chemical formula of explosives side by side with theoretical articles on social subjects. It announced this innovation in the following terms:—

"It is our intention, in the column devoted to 'Anti-Capitalist Products,' to instruct our readers in the preparation of inflammable and explosive substances that are easy to manufacture and safe to handle. The directions we shall give will differ in some respects from those published in scientific text-books, but our methods will be found less dangerous and more practical.

"We shall only allude to substances with which it is indispensable that every citizen should be acquainted, though the greatest ignorance unfortunately prevails on the subject at present. It is essential that the conflict in which we are engaged should, to some extent, be waged in the future with chemicals. It is high time to proceed from words to actions, and to prove to the well-to-do classes beyond the possibility of a doubt that we are in earnest."

The following week a second article opened in these terms:—

THE DEPUTY'S LITANY.



“ Saint Guillotine pray for us,  
Saint Guillotine deliver us ! ”  
(*Père Peinard*).

"A practice that seems to us excellent was commonly resorted to by contending parties in the Middle Ages. Although the people of those times were without the improved weapons of offence and defence that we dispose of, they never hesitated, in attempting the discomfiture of their enemies, to make the most of what means they did possess, whatever their nature.

"Having no cannon, they made use of catapults, or they greeted their foes with streams of boiling oil and pitch. These experiments were generally successful, the knightly gentry having a rooted distaste to liquid fire. In naval battles Greek fire was found particularly effective.

"It may be regarded as incontestable that the bravest soldier would take refuge in flight, were liquid fire to be literally rained down on him. To this end all combustible materials may be more or less usefully employed ; the mineral oils, for instance, especially petroleum, or the volatile oils. Some of these substances are more valuable than others for the purpose we have in view, and we propose to enumerate those most worth attention."

In succeeding issues the *Struggle* described in detail the manufacture of potassium picrate, dynamite, nitro-glycerine, gun-cotton, and many other explosives, accompanying its explanations with information as to the cost of the materials and the best means of procuring them. It even went so far as to point out how the finished product could be used with the greatest effect:—

"Let us suppose you are passing a house whose cellars are filled with combustible matter, with alcohol, for example. Through a window you throw



AU DAHOMEY!



“ On the way to Dahomey—to the slaughter-house for sheep ”  
(*Père Peinard*).

in a bottle containing a solution of . . . and then calmly walk away. The bottle breaks, the liquid streams out, and a quarter of an hour later the building is on fire."

Again:—

"When the troops are patrolling a town, the citizens cannot do better than arm themselves with bottles . . . and throw the contents from their windows on the passing soldiers, whose uniforms drenched with this substance will take fire by the mere action of the air. A general stampede may safely be prophesied."

It is interesting to note the attitude of the theoreticians of the party towards this rising flood of violence. The *Révolution* approaches the subject with much circumspection, not to say ambiguity:—

"A *deed* is not counselled, it is not spoken or written, it is *done*. There are occasions when the accomplished act is more far-reaching in its results than a page of carefully turned periods. The *Révolution* will always be quick to applaud those who act. It is clear, then, that we are far from being hostile to active measures. On the other hand, as we have said before, and as we repeat, a newspaper is not concerned with action. It is not our business to say to individuals, Do this or do that. If they know their own minds, and are guided by strong convictions, they will not require telling what they have to do."

In connection with this policy of activity, the question soon arose of the righteousness of robbery. Anarchism aims at the abolition of private property: its casuists had to decide whether theft, which may be considered a practical denial of the rights of property, were justifiable. The discussion of this

delicate point created some little stir in anarchist circles, but the *Révolution*, to its credit be it recorded, pronounced against picking and stealing. "It is absurd," it wrote, "to pretend that thieves are in revolt against Society. On the contrary, their aim is to take advantage of the actual constitution of society to live like parasites at the expense of those who produce wealth." At the same time, though this journal condemns those who steal for no better reason than to gratify their sordid inclinations, it confesses to a poor opinion of those "victims of evil fortune, who are foolish enough, if penniless, to commit suicide, though the shops are glutted with the necessities of life."

Other passages to the same effect might be quoted in abundance from the *Révolution*. The subjoined extract will suffice :—

"The thief who steals to satisfy his passions, while avoiding useful labour, . . . is animated by a desire to live as a parasite at the expense of society. We are content that he should render an account of his contemptible actions to the capitalist society which is responsible for his existence, and of which he is the natural outcome. The case of Duval <sup>1</sup> is different. He asserts that he was solely influenced by a desire to promote the interests of anarchism. His attitude is proof of the truth of his statement" (!).

Clément Duval is at present at the French convict settlement in Cayenne, where he was recently visited by M. Paul Mimande. This gentleman published the following astounding record of his impressions in the *Revue bleue*.

<sup>1</sup> Clément Duval was condemned to death in January, 1887, on a charge of burglary, aggravated by arson and the attempted murder of a policeman. His sentence was commuted.

"In my opinion this thief, incendiary, and murderer is an honest man. . . . I believe him incapable either of killing or stealing to satisfy his cupidity. He did what he did in the interests of his fellow creatures (!) I remarked in Duval the serenity of the enthusiast who suffers in a holy cause. It is in strict accordance with his character that he should submit as he does without murmur or protestation to the severe discipline of a convict prison. He is sincere in his belief that he is not dishonoured by the convict's garb, and his language and attitude bear witness to this conviction. His conscience assures him that he has acted well. He is indifferent to any other judgment. . . . I conversed at length with Clément Duval, and his fervent, chimerical language struck me as the ravings of some contemporary of John Huss come to life again in these latter days."

The organ of Reclus, of Grave, and Kropotkine, has continued to abstain from preaching violence, though tacitly approving it. "Action," it declares, "is the result of example. . . . It is absurd to say to those who are in the thick of the fight, 'Do this, burn that, hang such-and-such an individual.' To do so would be to lay oneself open to the obvious retort—'Practice what you preach!'"

The *Révolution* has indicated the line of conduct it would like to see observed by remarking that, "to endeavour in every circumstance of life to harmonise one's acts with one's theories is a practical policy that in the long run cannot fail to bear fruit."

An instance of this thorough-going adherence to the principles of anarchism is supplied by the "free" marriages of the daughters of Elisée Reclus.

The ill-disguised repugnance of the writers on the

*Révolution* to violent measures was in no wise to the liking of a section of the party, who, in answer to this "defection," as they termed it, founded in London, in 1890, a rival newspaper, the *International*, with a programme expressly based on the advocacy of an active, that is, of a violent, policy. In its opening manifesto this journal warns its readers against the lukewarm faith of the theorists, whom it describes as lavishing their caresses on the fighting soldiers of the agitation in the hope of hugging them to death, and playing with them as a cat plays with a mouse.

The front page of the *International* is occupied by the title, the date of issue, the price—a penny—and a notice to the effect that the paper appears twice a month at irregular intervals. Neither the name or address of the printer is given, nor are any of the articles signed.

"Published," according to an intimation in its first number, "thanks to the self-denying efforts of a few London comrades," the *International* gave the following account of the lines upon which it would be conducted :—

"While recognising the importance of the untiring efforts that are constantly being made to promote the spread of anarchist principles by peaceful means, and while always ready to applaud such endeavours, we are of opinion that a crisis has arrived in the history of the movement which demands recourse to other and more telling methods. We hold that science is an auxiliary that the party is no longer at liberty to overlook. We counsel in no uncertain voice the utilisation of the resources it places at our disposal.

"It is needless to say that, having thus made our standpoint clear, we do not shrink from accepting the

logical consequences: we believe in the necessity of stripping of their property the rapacious capitalist classes, the common object of our implacable hatred, by any and every means.

"We look upon robbery, murder, and incendiarism, as justifiable, natural, even legal means of forcing our demands upon the attention of the governing classes. Still more effectual expedients, however, are requisite. We do not hesitate to say that they are furnished by chemistry, whose powerful voice is necessary to out-roar the social tumult, whose aid is indispensable to make us masters of the wealth of our enemies without needless waste of the blood of our adherents."

This programme was further developed in another article that appeared in the same number under the title "Real Emancipation, and the Mode of Securing it," a part of which we cite:—

"The use of brute force is indispensable to complete the emancipation of humanity, whatever sleepy theorists, whose disappearance would be a benefit to the cause, may say to the contrary.

". . . If the destruction of all political, religious, and military authority, the sweeping away of all laws and law-makers is once allowed to be necessary, then it follows that one gigantic bonfire must be made of churches, palaces, convents, barracks, police-stations, town halls, law courts, fortresses, and prisons, and that all those who have lived up to now on the products of human toil, without producing themselves, must be hanged as high as Haman.

"Our duty is to devote ourselves to the study of chemistry, and to busy ourselves with the manufacture of bombs, dynamite, and other explosives, which will bring about the destruction of society much more

expeditiously than ineffectual street riots, in the course of which we should be decimated, and worse than decimated."

The foregoing extracts will give a sufficient idea of the violent tone habitually adopted by the *International*. Robbery, in the opinion of this estimable paper, even when committed for purely selfish ends, is worthy of all praise. Armies, which it speaks of as "degraded bodies of unconscious tools, who never hesitate, in obedience to the word of command, to spread death on their passage," are its special detestation. Following the example, already referred to, of the *Struggle*, it opines that anarchists "have a better course to pursue" when confronted by "a servile soldiery than to fling themselves, ridiculously armed, on the points of bayonets, or to expose their breasts to the bullets of repeating rifles." It is no such difficult matter, declares the *International*, to burn the troops alive, and this is the measure it counsels.

A characteristic article on "red tape"—on every description of legal and official documents, that is—appeared in the fourth number, issued in July, 1890. Starting with the contention that if such records were destroyed there would be an end to government and mutual obligations, the anonymous author recommends that papers of the kind should be burned, and points out that the quickest way to arrive at this desirable consummation would be to set fire indiscriminately to the buildings, public or private, in which such documents may happen to be stored. He adds that this task is easy of accomplishment. All that is necessary is to forward to the condemned establishments commercial circulars steeped in a

liquid that will cause them to burst spontaneously into a blaze after the lapse of a given time.

The theorists who have not seen fit to preach the gospel of violence are treated with scant courtesy by the *International*. They are alluded to in its columns as "petty anarchist popes," as "Holy Fathers," as "brain bemuddlers," as "packs of doctors, barristers, and other capitalist parings," or as "charlatans, vipers, and company." It even goes to the length of threatening these false prophets, as in the subjoined extract:—

"Their fate is sealed. The day will come when they will pay for their treachery with their heads, should they still be on their heads when the hour of reckoning arrives."

In the choice language of the *International* the *Révolution* is a "rag." The organ of the extremists loses no opportunity of heaping insults—or what it considers such—on the writers of its more moderate contemporary. It speaks of them in contempt as "these philosophers," "these professors," "these moralists," "these priests of anarchy whose influence is so disastrous." Early in the present year it levelled its abuse at M. V. Richard, the well-known ex-communist, who since his exile has founded an important business establishment in London, and whom the French authorities regard as a well-wisher to the anarchist cause.

The *International*, as might be expected, has not spared Jean Grave, the editor of the *Révolution*, in its attacks on that too temperate journal. In this connection the following extracts may be given, as they are interesting in other respects than for the personalities they contain:—



“The *Révolte*, that organ of the pedagogues, has once again shown the cloven hoof in its treatment of the trial of Pini, a brave and honourable man whom the ‘classes’ have vainly endeavoured to cover with infamy by dragging him before their iniquitous tribunals as a *common thief*.” (This designation, italicised in the original, is exactly that which most persons would apply to the individual in question.) “The *Révolte*, which at the time we write of, still exercised a certain influence, in its *honest partiality* refused to print anything like a *true defence* of Pini, inasmuch as it suppressed the most telling argument in his favour, though the facts of the case, already published in Italian, and since translated into German, were transmitted to it for insertion.”

The *International* goes on to explain what these facts were. Pini, it would have the world believe, was not a “common thief” because the money he stole was devoted by him to defraying the cost of publication of anarchist papers and pamphlets—the papers bore the significant titles of the *Cyclone* and the *Poniard*—to providing fugitive comrades with funds to enable them to escape from justice, and finally to supporting the son of a companion during a two years’ residence at the University of Milan. It then proceeds:—

“For the reasons we have just given we are disgusted at the imbecility and cowardice of the detractors of this courageous man, who hated these dictatorial theorists as heartily as we do, and was of course disliked by them in return. To such a pitch did they carry their enmity that the honest *Révolte* refused categorically to take up the cudgels on his behalf even when he was in the direst straits; while

Grave, who is no better than a convict's warder, declared in letters still in existence, and signed by him, that *he did not approve of robbery*. It was only at a later period, when the energetic attitude of Pini in the criminal dock was the admiration of every one that the *organ of the pure* consented to publish an incomplete defence of our comrade."

The campaign of the *International* against the paper of Reclus and Kropotkine, and its scurrilous attacks on Jean Grave and the theorists, far from meeting with the general approbation of the companions, was regarded by some of them as an attempt to breed discord in the party. It was even asserted that the fire-breathing sheet was in the pay of the police, but no positive evidence was ever adduced that this was the case. The *Révolution* throughout maintained a dignified silence, disdaining to reply to such irresponsible onslaughts.

To complete its self-appointed task of inciting to murder and arson, the *International* printed on its last page a course of practical chemistry specially designed for the use of anarchists. These articles were subsequently republished in pamphlet form with the title of the "Anarchist's Guide." This publication extends to forty pages, in which are minutely explained the processes of manufacture of dynamite, fulminate of mercury, blasting powder, nitrobenzine, and fuses. The various varieties of bombs are complaisantly dilated on in this instructive compilation, such as the asphyxiating bomb, and the bomb to be exploded with sodium or potassium. It describes at length Fenian fire and Lorraine fire, the different methods for destroying documents and voting papers, the incendiary cigarette and tall hat, chlorated

powders and nitro-glycerine. It dwells on the methods of turning the gas supply to account in blowing up houses, on poisons, on sympathetic inks and ciphers for secret correspondence, and, in short, justifies its claim to be regarded as a complete handbook for the practical militant anarchist.

## L'Indicateur Anarchiste

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Il est absolument inutile de te faire un épouvantail de la fabrication des produits détonnants ou explosifs. En suivant scrupuleusement nos prescriptions tu peux manœuvrer en toute confiance ; un enfant de douze ans ferait tout aussi bien que toi.

Ne te presse pas ; manipule sur les quantités indiquées, ou la moitié, jamais le double. Répète plutôt deux fois l'opération que de doubler les doses.

Toutes les recettes que nous te donnons ici ont été recueillies par nous dans les ouvrages spéciaux, nous les avons aussi mises en pratique, ce qui fait que nous te donnons les résultats obtenus par des spécialistes et contrôlés par nos propres expériences.

Travaille dans une chambre bien aérée et ne laisse pas tes acides ou les produits obtenus trop près de ton lit, ni de l'endroit où est ta nourriture.

Tu n'as pas beaucoup d'instruments dans ton petit laboratoire car tout cela coûte cher et c'est autant de pris sur ta nourriture, celle de ta compagne et des petits. Nous t'achèrons de t'indiquer les moyens de t'en procurer d'une façon économique.

Ne te presse pas pour agir, attends d'être instruit. Cela viendra plus vite que tu ne le penses, si tu travailles sérieusement.

Un voyage de mille lieues commence par un pas, disait un sage. Et tu sais, compagnon !... Il n'y a que le premier pas qui coûte.

FACSIMILE OF THE FRONT PAGE OF THE "ANARCHIST'S GUIDE."

The treatise, which was printed, it is stated, in

London at the International Anarchist Press, concludes with the following notice :—

**Cette brochure ayant coûté beaucoup d'argent dont une grande partie reste encore à payer, nous prions les groupes et les compagnons qui la recevront, d'envoyer ce qu'ils pourront à des compagnons connus de Paris, sans indiquer dans leurs lettres que c'est pour la BROCHURE.**

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**Londrea. — Imprimerie internationale anarchiste.**

FACSIMILE OF THE NOTICE WITH WHICH THE "ANARCHIST'S GUIDE" CONCLUDES.

Although published in London, the *International* has been principally circulated in France, whither it was forwarded with so little attempt at secrecy that suspicions were entertained that it was intended to compromise those to whom it was addressed.

Criminals and malcontents have been found in plenty to adopt the advice vouchsafed by the *International* and the "Anarchist's Guide." It has become the fashion, especially in France, for thieves and housebreakers to pose as anarchists, though in almost every case there is not the slightest reason to believe that political convictions had any influence in provoking their misconduct. They have acted under the delusion that they cut a better figure in the criminal dock as "martyrs" to the revolutionary cause than as common rogues, and have thankfully taken to heart the lessons of the *International*.

On the other hand, breaches of the peace, undoubtedly fomented by adherents of the party, occurred on May 1, 1891, at Clichy, a suburb of

THE FOUR ANARCHISTS GAROTTED AT XERES.

**Cauchemar royal**



“A royal nightmare. ‘The thought of them will haunt you, Madame [the Queen of Spain] incessantly until you die’” (*Père Peinard*).

Paris, and in Vienna. The Clichy rioters, unfurling the red flag, met the charges of the police with revolver shots. Many arrests were made, and two prominent companions, Dardare and Decamps, were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The intrinsic importance of these disturbances was slight, but it was otherwise with their consequences. The memorable outrages of Ravachol must be regarded as the anarchist answer to the sentences on the Clichy rioters. The first exploit of Ravachol was the explosion of a bomb at the Clichy police-station, where, according to the anarchists, Dardare and Decamps had been needlessly maltreated on their arrest. A few months later the as yet unknown apostle of dynamite attempted to blow up a house in the Boulevard Saint-Germain, the residence of a magistrate who had incurred the anger of the comrades. At an interval of only a few days, an explosion occurred at the dwelling of another magistrate in the Rue de Clichy, the "bomb" on this occasion taking the shape of a trunk packed with dynamite. Immense excitement was caused in Paris by these successive outrages, with the result that anarchism became the topic of the hour. On the 29th of March the Paris *Figaro* published an interview with a companion, whose name, for obvious reasons, was withheld. We quote portions of this instructive article:—

"The moral effect produced by the recent explosions is excellent from every point of view. Deeds such as these are worth any number of newspaper articles and noisy public meetings, for they force the entire public to pay attention to our theories. It is certain that there is an intolerable amount of suffering, misery, injustice, and ignominy in the

world in which we live, and it is probable that the unsatisfactory state of society will be brought home to people's minds when it is seen that continued neglect to find remedies for this condition of things is not unattended by danger. . . .

"Unless we break a few windows from time to time, it is unlikely that we shall obtain a hearing before the thirtieth century. . . . The authors of these explosions have acted on their own impulses, and it is not for me to judge the measures they have thought it right to take. Were I to make any comment, it would be that in my opinion they would be better advised in abstaining from wreaking vengeance on individuals. What is the use of singling out for attack this or that magistrate? These functionaries are only members of an imperfect social organisation, that has provided them with the profession they can hardly be blamed for exercising. It is not they who are guilty, but society as a whole. The task before us is the renovation of all existing institutions, the reorganisation of the entire social system. . . .

"Our aim is to hasten, as far as possible, the completion of our work, out of consideration for humanity, if for no other reason. If we are to advance at all it must be by sudden leaps and bounds. Otherwise we shall inevitably stand still. Each revolution is such a leap. A revolution may appear destructive at the moment, but the ruins it leaves behind it are fertile in results, and to fear the temporary crash would be cowardice."

The author of these multiple explosions proved to be Ravachol, whose earlier career had been signalled by the murder of a hermit at Chambles (Loire), and by the desecration, for purposes of robbery, of the grave

of the Marchioness of La Rochetaillée. Ravachol was arrested, condemned, and executed, but his place was taken by other disciples of the doctrine of social regeneration by dynamite. In April, 1892, the explosion at Véry's restaurant caused the death of two victims, and in October of the same year a bomb, for which, as has since been shown, Émile Henry was responsible, burst in the police-station in the Rue des Bons-Enfants, killing five members of the force.

In Spain, Pallas attempted the life of Marshal Martinez Campos, but was only successful in killing and wounding a number of officers and soldiers. Pallas was captured and shot, but his comrades promptly revenged his death by exploding a bomb with terrible effect in the Liceo Theatre at Barcelona. The result of this dastardly outrage was the adoption of the most vigorous measures against the anarchists, whose newspapers were suppressed, and who were hunted down like mad dogs.

The recent insurrectionary movements in Italy and Sicily, though only indirectly the work of the anarchists, deserve a passing mention in this brief review of the results of the active policy of the party.

In France the practical carrying out of the programme of violence has continued to be the work of individuals. Many of these manifestations have been too petty to deserve chronicling in detail. Pretended companions have ordered meals in a restaurant and refused to pay for them, being indeed unable to do so ; others have decamped from their lodgings without paying their rent, or have thrown stones at shop windows to call attention to their destitution ; common criminals on leaving the dock have shouted " Hurrah for Anarchy " at the magistrate who has



sentenced them ; but it may well be doubted, at least in the great majority of instances, whether these and other alleged companions of a like calibre have any real connection with the cause to which they claim to be affiliated. The distinction, if such it be, of being genuine anarchists may, on the other hand, be awarded Willis, an elderly man who fired off a revolver in front of the Paris Opera House while the Russian fetes were in progress ; and also Léauthier, who stabbed M. Georgewitch, a Servian minister, in a Paris restaurant, and was condemned for the exploit to penal servitude for life.

Coming to outrages of greater magnitude, Auguste Vaillant in December, 1893, threw a bomb in the Chamber of Deputies ; and early in the present year Émile Henry caused an explosion in the Café Terminus.

The still more recent explosions in the restaurant Foyot and the Avenue Kleber, together with the terrible murder of President Carnot, unfortunately make it clear that neither the condign punishment dealt out to such of the miscreants as have fallen into the hands of justice, nor the killing of Bourdin and Pauwels by their own bombs are likely to put a stop to the activity of the terrorists. Of more hopeful augury is the attitude of the moderate section of the party, who seem inclined, after much hesitation, to make a stand against the excuses of some of their companions. This tendency is observable in the changed tone adopted by the literary sympathisers with the anarchist movement. Thus Octave Mirbeau, whom we have seen apologising for Ravachol, recently delivered himself as follows in an article written in defence of Jean Grave :—

“A mortal enemy of anarchism could not have

done greater injury to the cause than did Émile Henry when he threw his inexplicable bomb, . . . an act so inconceivably foolish that persons of an imaginative turn of mind were inclined to fancy for a moment that the police must have had a finger in it. Émile Henry proclaims loudly that he is an anarchist. It is possible that he is ; but anarchism has a broad back, and it is at present the fashion among criminals to attempt to throw the responsibility of their actions on the doctrine. . . . There are criminals and madmen in every party, because in every party there are men."

The following observations from the pen of M. Daniel Saurin, a former contributor to the *Révolution*, are very similar in tone :—

"I cannot understand in what confused conception Vaillant, Henry, and their congeners believed they found a justification for their attempts. There is no logical explanation of their incomprehensible acts. The strange state of mind into which it must be supposed they had worked themselves is their only excuse—an excuse that will be held insufficient by a society determined to prolong its existence, and prepared to defend itself.

"At the same time, it is the duty of that portion of the press which would be considered impartial, to draw a distinction between the authors of these outrages, and that reputable section of the anarchist party whose aims are defined in a pamphlet, 'Order through Anarchy,' recently issued by the *Révolution*.

"The strictest respect for human life must incontestably be the basis of any system of social ethics. Existing society lays itself open to criticism by reason of its too frequent disregard of this funda-

mental principle, which, on the other hand, declares madness to be a crime when it resorts to massacre.

"Government by bomb would be the worst conceivable form of government, an intangible despotism, destitute even of that cynical audacity which may lead the despot to brave openly the hatred he excites. . . . The bomb is the direct antithesis of anarchism, and the veritable anarchist doctrine has the more reason to deprecate it, that up to now it is the anarchist agitation that has suffered the most from its introduction."

The *Révolution* itself remarked, with some ambiguity, as is its wont :—

"As we foresaw would be the case, we are being visited with a series of explosions intended to terrorise the general public, and to deceive it as to the true methods of anarchism. It may be taken as certain that whenever an explosion is not plainly directed against the governing or the wealthy classes, or against the abuse of their position by the employers of labour, such an explosion may safely be laid to the door of individuals whose interest it is to bring the party into disrepute, and to effect the outlawry of its adherents. We need not describe more pointedly the scoundrels to whom we refer."

A passing allusion will suffice to the recently published declaration of the notorious companion, Charles Malato, that while admiring the outrages of Vaillant and Pallas, he disapproved of that of which the Café Terminus was the scene ; but a recent statement by Elisée Reclus is of great importance. This significant utterance appeared in *Travail (Labour)*, a newspaper issued in Liège. It ran :—

"Supposing you have a quarrel with any one, what

do you do? You settle the difference between yourself and the individual as best you may. You do not make the innocent suffer for the grudge you bear.

"Anarchism is, above everything else, a humanitarian doctrine. It is the primary duty of whoever calls himself an anarchist to be kind and forbearing.

"Genuine anarchists regard outrages such as that which has just occurred [reference is made to the bomb explosion at the Café Terminus] as crimes. If those who are responsible for these barbarous deeds imagine that by committing them they are doing a service to the anarchist cause, they are terribly deceived.

"The only result of such outrages will be that the public will conceive such a horror of anarchism, that all possibility of the doctrine making further progress will be destroyed.

"Yet the anarchist ideal is grand and noble. It must not be desecrated. Those of us who are guilty of dishonourable action dishonour the doctrine. Unfortunately there are many such in our ranks."

We are assured that a number of the most representative anarchists purpose issuing shortly a manifesto declaring their adherence to the views as given above of Elisée Reclus.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE ANARCHIST DOCTRINE.

*“ Everything is at an end.  
Do what you choose.  
Everything is everybody’s.”*

#### THE FORERUNNERS.

IN attempting to trace the origin of the ideas which lie at the root of anarchism, it will be unnecessary to go further back than the sixteenth century. The fundamental propositions of the doctrine are few in number, and one of them, the famous “Do what you choose,” is borrowed from Rabelais. The joyous Vicar of Mendon peopled his memorable Abbey of Thelema with an ideal society, with a community whose members were guided in their conduct by identical instincts, and of whose daily life he drew the following delightful picture :—

“All their life was spent, not in laws, statutes, or rules, but according to their own free will and pleasure. They rose out of their beds when they thought good ; they did eat, drink, labour, sleep, when they had a mind to it, and were disposed for it. None did awake them, none did offer to constrain them to eat,

drink, nor to do any other thing ; for so had Gargantua established it. In all their rule and strictest tie of their order there was but this one clause to be observed—

“DO AS THOU WOULDST.

Because men that are free, well-born, well-bred, and conversant in honest companies, have naturally an instinct and spur that prompteth them unto virtuous actions, and withdraws them from vice, which is called honour. Those same men, when by bare subjection and restraint they are brought under and kept down, turn aside from that noble disposition, by which they formerly were inclined to virtue, to shake off and break that bond of servitude wherein they are so tyrannously enslaved ; for it is agreeable with the nature of man to long after things forbidden, and to desire what is denied us.”

It will be seen that in Rabelais' ideal society the individual was free from obligations to his fellows, and was called on to conform his conduct to no established code of rules. The society, in other words, was unorganised, and absolute liberty was the prerogative of each of its members. These are precisely the lines on which the anarchists conceive the ideal world of the future.

The same period saw the rise in Germany of Münzer, the Anabaptist, in whom the anarchists have an ancestor they have less reason to be proud of than Rabelais. Münzer was a wild, not to say a mad, enthusiast, who advocated with stubborn conviction the strangest and most extravagant theories. He was the sworn enemy of society as it existed in his time, and his efforts were directed to its complete

GUERRE AUX FROCARDS!



“Down with the clergy!” (*Père Peinard*).

overthrow. He professed to be animated by friendly feelings toward the lower classes, while his hatred of the rich and of the representatives of authority, whether civil or religious, was as implacable as that of his latter-day descendants. He preached that princes and potentates were the scourge of humanity and the oppressors of the people, whom "it was their constant endeavour to oust from the enjoyment of their indefeasible rights." He exacted an oath from his adherents that they should strive to bring about the dissolution of society. In the meantime all property was to be held in common, and every member of the party was bound to labour for the general good. National distinctions were to be abolished. At his bidding his followers rose in armed insurrection against society, with the battle-cry: "Let each man possess according to his needs, and according to what is possible." The movement was suppressed, and its leader, his head on the block, uttered these prophetic words: "One day I shall be avenged. A man like me does not die."

A few years later La Boétie proclaimed in France the natural equality of men and the right of the individual to absolute liberty. In his treatise on "Voluntary Servitude" the friend of Montaigne thus expresses himself: "The true basis of society lies in the natural equality of men, and in the recognition of the fact that the rights of every man are equal. The Supreme Cause, who has not created man that he should be a slave, has endowed him with one right that includes every other—the right to be free. Where liberty does not exist, there must tyranny be."

The sixteenth century, with its civil and religious wars, was a time of intense social and intellectual



effervescence. A spirit of unrest was abroad, and it found utterance in the revolt of the oppressed against the oppressors, of reason and common sense against the absurdities of tradition, and, in general, of right against might. Many of those who took part in these various movements are regarded by the anarchists as their predecessors. A century later the genial La Fontaine supplies the anarchists with one of their favourite maxims: "Our enemy is our master." These words, the writer of which little guessed the purpose to which they would be put, are affixed to numerous revolutionary publications. It is even stranger to find that Bossuet is among the authorities complacently quoted by the writers of the anarchist party in support of their views. They cite, for instance, such a passage as the following, in which the Bishop of Meaux upbraids the rich and deplores the sufferings of their inferiors. He says:—

"How unjust it is that the poor should bear so heavy a burden, and that they should be loaded with so grievous a weight of suffering. If they complain and murmur it is not without some justification, for as we are all moulded of the same clay, and between clay and clay there can be but slight difference, why should a portion of mankind be in enjoyment of pleasure and influence, while sorrow, despair, and extreme want, and even contempt and slavery, are the lot of their brethren? Why should one man, the minion of fortune, live in abundance, and be enabled to satisfy even the unprofitable desires which he may strain his fancy to evoke; while his unfortunate fellow, though a man like himself, cannot provide for the necessities of his unhappy family, or still the pangs of hunger that torment him?"

Again :—

“ The wild ass is the prey of the desert lion, and the poor are the prey of the rich. When the rich man is by, the poor cannot enjoy their possessions in security. These unfortunates purchase by their toil advantages of which others profit ; they pay for what others enjoy, and the welfare of the few entails the ruin of the many.

“ The earth and its fruits are as much the common property of all mankind as air and light. God gives to all alike, ‘ every herb that grows and the forests that cover the land.’ *By the primal law of nature nothing is one man’s rather than another’s, each man has an equal right to everything.* Every man has a claim on his fellow-men, though he belong to a nation as hated by us as the Samaritans were by the Jews.”

It will be seen that it is not without reason that the anarchists claim that Bossuet formulated their own proposition, “ Everything is everybody’s.”

The philosophers of the eighteenth century concerned themselves largely with social problems. With the growth of suffering among the poor, a feeling of pity and dissatisfaction with a system which permitted so much injustice was generated among independent thinkers. Witnesses of the exactions of those who wielded an authority which they abused, and their indignation aroused by indefensible privileges, thoughtful men were agreed in protesting against the state of slavery in which the lower classes were kept. The literature of the period offers the anarchists abundant arguments in support of their views.

“ Nature,” wrote Diderot, “ created neither servants

nor masters.. I wish neither to impose nor to lend obedience to laws. . . . Since the conception of property involves the right of use and abuse, a man cannot be the property of a sovereign, nor a child the property of his father, nor a wife the property of her husband. . . .”

“Inequality between man and man,” declared Jean Jacques Rousseau, “is almost non-existent in a state of nature. In any case it is restricted to physical and moral qualities. Inequality, then, is the outcome of our social system, the result of education.”

Elsewhere the same writer has remarked: “The real founder of civil society was the man to whom it first occurred to say, after he had fenced in a plot of ground, ‘This is mine,’ and who found people sufficiently simple to believe him. What wretchedness and crime, what wars and murders, would have been spared the human race had some one ventured to resist this encroachment, and to cry out to his fellow-men, ‘Do not heed this impostor. You are lost the moment you forget that the earth is no man’s property, and that its fruits are the birthright of all men.’”

Rousseau did not speak in vain. When the revolution broke out, the enemies of law and property remembered his teaching, and hastened to put his precepts into practice.

“Life,” declared Hébert, one of the most violent of the terrorists, “is the first possession of man, the possession nothing must interfere with his right to enjoy. The people are starving in the midst of abundance. They should follow the example set them by the ants, and live as a community. The aged have a right to assistance. It is indispensable

that work or the means of supporting existence should be secured to every citizen. Begging is the resource of cowards."

One distinction, however, must be drawn between the anarchists and the men of the Revolution. The latter to a man were staunch patriots. The fraternity of nations preached by the anarchists and socialists of to-day had found no favour with the Héberts, the Babeufs, the Chaumettes, and the Pereiras of the last century.

Apart from this single point of divergence, the men of the Reign of Terror anticipated in almost every particular the doctrine of the extreme revolutionists of the present age. A manifesto issued by the society known as the "Equals" set forth that "nature has granted to every man an equal right to share in the enjoyment of its gifts; that the aim of society should be to maintain this equality and to turn it to account for the benefit of the individual, by enhancing the value of the common privileges in which he has the right to participate; that a condition of things allowing one man, though idle, to revel in luxury, while another by incessant toil is unable to provide himself the barest necessities, is indefensible; that those who appropriate to their own exclusive use the fruits of the earth and of industry are guilty of crime; that in a properly organised society there should be neither rich nor poor; that the rich who refuse to abandon their superfluous wealth to the indigent are the enemies of the people; that the object of the Revolution is to put an end to inequality and to ensure the welfare of every member of the community. In short, individual property must be abolished. The land belongs to no man; its fruits belong to every man unless he forfeit his share in them by refusing to

labour." The anarchist manifestoes are couched in almost identical terms.

Still some time elapsed before the doctrine found an authoritative spokesman, which it did at length in Proudhon, a profound and powerful thinker, who did not hesitate to place himself in opposition to the current opinion of his age, and to sap the very founda-



PROUDHON.

tion of the existing social fabric. Proudhon more than any man paved the way for anarchism, prepared the soil for the seed that was on the eve of being sown. Others before him had demanded that the individual should be free, and had harped on the principles of altruism ; but Proudhon collected these scattered, indecisive utterances, welded them into a

whole, and presented the world with a social system which it could accept or reject, but which was elaborated on logical lines.

The State, in the social organisation sketched by Proudhon, is merely entrusted with administrative functions. Its duty is to secure to each individual his liberty, and to see that justice is done to every member of the community. Proudhon would abolish every form of authority. He would make the sovereignty of the citizen not an empty phrase, as in his opinion it is at present, but a reality. With the principle of decentralisation applied for the benefit of the greatest number and carried to its extreme limits, he remarks that "government would cease to exist and order would spring out of anarchy."

Frontiers, under the new order of things, would lose all meaning and significance ; the different peoples having no national interests to defend, now that justice, the outcome of equality, reigned in every relation of life, would fraternise. The conception of *mine* and *thine* would no longer come between nations any more than between individuals.

But while Proudhon developed and gave definite shape to the doctrines contained in Rousseau's works, in "Emile" and the "Contrat Social," he abstained from indicating the means by which his ideal scheme might be made an accomplished fact. It remained for the Russian nihilists to bridge this gulf between theory and practice by adopting, as the ultimate revolutionary method, violence perpetrated by the individual and not, as in the past, by collective bodies. Almost simultaneously Bakounine founded the anarchist party, which was speedily joined by Kropotkine and other nihilists. Henceforth the ex-

treme revolutionists are not content to argue. They are determined to act, and they subscribe to a practical policy of violence.

THE NEGATIVE OR DESTRUCTIVE THEORIES  
OF ANARCHISM.

*"Everything is at an end."*

"Anarchism involves the negation of authority. The attempt is made to justify the existence of authority by declaring that it is necessary for the defence of such social institutions as the family, religion, or property, and to this end an intricate governmental machinery has been devised, consisting of the law, the magistracy, the army, and the executive and legislative powers. It is in consequence the business of the anarchists to attack every institution which authority has taken under its protection, and of which it strives to prove the utility in order to justify its own existence." These words which indicate the basis of the negative theories of anarchism are taken from the first page of Jean Grave's book, "Moribund Society."

We propose to state as briefly as possible, by means of extracts from anarchist writings, the arguments urged by the party against the several institutions it is the object of authority to maintain.

The anarchist position with respect to capital and property is clearly set forth in the following quotation :—

"Society, as at present constituted, is founded on the protection of individual property and on its preservation in the same families. Authority, the family, the magistracy, the army, together with the entire

official organisation under which we groan, spring from this fundamental principle. Yet every school of socialists has shown conclusively that property is the result of robbery, of fraud, and of the triumph of might over right.

"The right of possession is the chief cause of that discord which is the scourge of humanity. It is this right that drives men to rob and murder and to prey on each other. It is owing to this desire to possess, that a handful of millionaires force thousands of human beings to live on the verge of starvation, and that monstrous crimes are continually committed.

"The desire of possession is the origin of war, and it is this same desire that destroys all feeling of honesty and of sympathy with his fellow-creatures in the individual.

"Political economists assert that capital is wealth which the industrious and provident have not consumed immediately on its production, but have set aside for their future requirements. The truth is that while the most fortunate working-man can barely save sufficient to keep him from want in his old age, the capitalist, by dint of appropriating three-quarters of the total wealth produced, economises millions, which he increases tenfold by heritage and speculation. This proves that capital is indeed accumulated labour, but the labour of others accumulated in the hands of a single individual, of a robber."

Turning to the question of the family, the propertied man, the anarchists allege, has so ordered this institution, that on his death he is in a position to leave to his descendants the fruits of his thefts. Further, he has made the marriage tie as binding as possible, because he considers woman his inferior, in fact his



property. The anarchists would put an end to the family conceived on these lines, "based on interest instead of on affection," but without destroying the family as they themselves understand it. The ideal family would result, they contend, from the substitution of what they term a "free union" for marriage.

"Of what use is it to seal by a ceremony what another ceremony can loose? Why consecrate by a priest a union that a judge can declare null and void?

"The anarchists reject the institution of marriage. They hold that two human beings who love each other have no need of the permission of a third to live together. Society has nothing to say in the matter. Again, the anarchists are of opinion that the fact that a man and woman have lived as man and wife should not make their union indissoluble. What they have done of their own free will, of their own free will they can undo.

"By making the union between man and woman free, anarchists do not wish to imply that a man and woman may not pass their entire lives in each other's company; all they purpose is to abolish the legally constituted family, and to make the man and the woman free to abandon or return to the life in common as they please. Their object is to do away with the senseless uniform law, which claims to regulate the complex relations which arise from the union of man and woman. Marriage, as it is at present, is nothing better than the most shameless prostitution. It is organised solely with a view to the transmission of property, and with this iniquitous custom the legal marriage will disappear."

Universal suffrage, the panacea of so many re-

formers, is held in sovereign contempt by the anarchists:—

“Authority is solely based at present (in France) on universal suffrage, the law of majorities. Universal suffrage, however, merely leaves to the people the right of choosing their masters. As far as the individual is concerned, even this right is illusory, as his vote is only one in five hundred. Moreover, every one is aware that the representatives elected by universal suffrage are nonentities, or at best mediocrities, and that the large-minded and truly intelligent among the community are never returned to power. So-called universal suffrage is only an invention of the capitalist class destined to make the people delude themselves into the belief that they can change the iniquitous social system by which they are oppressed, by changing the men who are in authority over them.”

On colonisation, anarchism speaks its mind as follows:—

“What is colonisation, but a system of brigandage, devised for the benefit of the governing classes?

“The capitalists having more manufactured goods or natural produce on their hands than they have means to dispose of, think it an excellent plan to declare war against unfortunate wretches unable to defend themselves, in order to force these surplus articles upon them. Explorers are primarily occupied with finding new openings, for trade, but neither they nor colonial expeditions are of the least concern to civilisation.”

In conclusion we quote the following indictment of the principle of authority:—

“Whatever be the latest disguise in which authority

clothe itself, however harmless it attempt to appear, whatever improvements be introduced into its organisation, by whatever methods its wielders be recruited, we are confronted by the following dilemma :

“ Either its decisions are legally binding and must be obeyed by the entire community, in which case it will stand in need of all existing institutions (property, family, fatherland, army, State) to enforce them—which means that mankind must renounce their freedom ;

“ Or the individual retains the right to discuss the decisions of the government, to conform to them if he please, or to snap his fingers in the face of authority if he choose—which means that the freedom of the individual remains intact, but that government is useless, and a menace and hindrance to boot. The obvious conclusion is that we are better without any government whatever.”

There are a certain number of subjects on which the anarchist theorists have not as yet expressed their views, or at least only in cursory fashion. Religion may be cited as a case in point. The party refers its adherents for information on these matters to writers who have treated them in “ an independent spirit.” But enough has been said of the negative theories of anarchism. It is a part of the doctrine with which the generality of persons profess themselves familiar. On the other hand it is often stated that the anarchists themselves are ignorant of what they want, well as they may know what they do not want. This is a mistake, as we shall proceed to show by an examination of the constructive theories of anarchism.

THE AFFIRMATIVE OR CONSTRUCTIVE THEORIES  
OF ANARCHISM.

*“Do what you choose.  
Everything is everybody’s.”*

Scant attention is paid in the anarchist pamphlets to the affirmative side of the doctrine, which is also neglected, as we have seen, in the illustrated publications of the party. The work demanded of the recruits to the cause is a work of destruction, and singular reticence is observed with regard to the reward they will reap from their labour. Mahomet inflamed the hearts of his fanatical followers by holding out to them hopes of paradise, but anarchism is more inclined to dwell on the evils of the present than on the joys of the future.

Yet the anarchists aver that the society that is to be will be a paradise of no mean order. Its nature is revealed in two books, in Kropotkine’s “Battle for Bread” and Jean Grave’s “Society after the Revolution”; but both of these works are too costly to allow of their wide circulation among the sympathisers with the agitation. It may be expected that their teaching will soon be vulgarised, as they offer a complete picture of the state of things the anarchists propose to create, of the coming time when Harmony and Loving-kindness will reign supreme throughout the earth by the application of two formulæ: “Do what you choose” and “Everything is everybody’s.” But it will be well to let Kropotkine speak for himself:—

“Everything is everybody’s. Generation after generation, born to suffering and dying in wretched-

ness, oppressed and illtreated by those in authority, worn out with toil, has left a vast heritage of woe to the nineteenth century, that has increased the legacy rather than diminished it. Everything is everybody's, because (in the new earth which is the new heaven) all men have the same needs, because all have laboured as their strength would allow, and it is materially impossible to allot to each individual the precise share that would be his by right of the wealth produced. . . . Everything is everybody's! Provided each man and woman do their share of the world's work, they are entitled to their share in the world's wealth, and the share will suffice for their welfare.

"Such ambiguous propositions as 'Every man has the right to labour,' or, 'The sum of the wealth he produces is the property of the producer,' have had their day. We proclaim the right of every man to a competency."

The enthusiastic preachers of the new gospel regard with scorn the objections urged against their utopian schemes. If asked what will happen should the common stock of wealth threaten to give out, they are content to reply that humanity would in that case be put on rations. The only privileged persons would be the sick, the aged, the very young and the feeble-minded. For instance, should there be a scarcity of milk, what there was would be reserved for the newly-born; if of eggs, the convalescent would have the advantage of all that could be procured. Again, if velvets and silks were hard to come by, the anarchists anticipate no trouble in apportioning them among the regenerated women of the future: "the most frivolous of the sex," they

decide, "would be welcome to seize on such vanities, *if they were not ashamed to publish their frivolity.*"

In the opinion of Jean Grave, the realisation of the theories of anarchism will result in the formation of—

"A society from which authority is banished, and whose members will live on a footing of perfect equality, substituting no fresh privileges for those which have been abolished, and consuming, producing, and acting according to the principles of a perfected communism ; a society which will have no power over the individual, and to whose interests the individual will under no circumstances be sacrificed, because it will be impossible for the interests of the society to be in antagonism with those of the individual."

This exceedingly abstract conception of the anarchist paradise is not all that is vouchsafed the curious. Kropotkin, Grave himself, and a few other enthusiastic visionaries, have striven to invest their dreams with a measure of substance and reality. Descending from generalities to concrete cases, they have attempted, at least in a few particulars, to give definite shape to their ideal polity.

For instance, judging from the experience of the past, the members of the new community who consented to work might reasonably fear that they would have to support the idle. This difficulty is set aside by the optimistic assertion that idleness will be unknown when people shall have ceased to labour for the profit of others. Under the new dispensation, a man would have to be mad to deny himself the pleasures derived from toil ! An equally ingenuous argument is thought a sufficient solution of the

ALL FOR A LOAF OF BREAD.

Tout ça pour un pain !



- "1. 'They look tempting, and I've nothing in my inside.'  
2. 'The "coppers" are after me !'  
3. 'Pinched !'  
4. 'You catch it hotter for taking a loaf than for stealing thousands'" (*Père Peinard*).

problem of finding volunteers to undertake exceptionally distasteful tasks, to do the dirty work of the community in plain language. The anarchists contend that as everybody contributes to make such work indispensable, everybody will be ready to assist in executing it.

The treatment of crime has no place in the calculations of these sanguine reformers, for the excellent reason that they will have improved the criminal off the face of the earth. They hold that crime is the result of the wealth and privileged position of the few, and of the starving state and destitution of the many. With the causes of crime, crime itself will disappear. The criminal will be unknown in the terrestrial paradise, where the harmony of nature and primitive loving-kindness shall prevail.

It is to be feared that the explanations of these voluble theorists will not carry conviction to the majority of minds. They have an answer to every objection, but the answer is seldom satisfactory, judged from the standpoint of the common-sense critic and not from that of the enthusiast. Faith, a large measure of faith, would seem indispensable to the acceptance of the anarchist conclusions. The exponents of the doctrine undoubtedly possess this faith: their belief in their panacea is boundless. They place no limit to the miracles the milk of human kindness may be expected to accomplish, when once this portentous emollient of men's manners shall have been allowed free play. Moreover, they have implicit confidence in the wonders that will be worked by science. An anarchist remarked, in all sincerity, to the present writer, "When means have been found to solidify nitrogen, men will have no



further need of bread." It must be conceded that there is some scientific authority for this opinion. The world-renowned French scientist, Berthelot, stated quite recently, in a memoir read before a learned society, that it should not be overlooked that "the food problem is in reality a chemical problem. When force is economically obtainable, the day will not be far distant when food will be manufactured from the carbon of carbonic acid, from the hydrogen and oxygen of water and from the nitrogen of the air. . . . The time will come when every one will be provided with his lozenge of nitrogenous matter, with his morsel of fat, of starch and of sugar, cheaply produced in infinite quantities by the world's factories!"

Kropotkine, in his book the "Battle for Bread," not only discounts up to a certain point these promised discoveries, but he indulges in some curious calculations with regard to the portion of his time which each individual will have to devote in future to labour in order to support himself. He adduces elaborate figures to prove that half of the able-bodied adults of the departments of the Seine, and the Seine and Oise, by spending five hours a day on fifty-eight days in the year in the cultivation of the soil, could raise sufficient produce to keep the entire population of the two departments not merely in comfort but in luxury.

Kropotkine proceeds, basing his conclusions on the works of modern capitalist writers on agriculture, to draw a delectable picture of the lot of the tiller of the soil in the near future. The peasant of the past, bent over his plough, sowing his seed in fear and trembling that the chances of the season may rob him of his harvest, will give way to a happier husbandman:

" . . . The system of culture in vogue in America,

great as are the advances it shows on the methods that are still too generally resorted to in France, represents only the infancy of the art. The enlightened agriculturist has larger ideas, more grandiose conceptions. The acre of ground will yield him the vegetable nourishment of a whole family; the land that formerly supported a single beast will shortly suffice for twenty and more. His aim is to *create* the soil best suited to his requirements, to set the seasons and the climate at defiance, to warm the air and the earth around the young plant, to obtain, in fact, from an acre more produce than was raised in the past in fifty. And this will be accomplished with less labour than achieved such incomparably inferior results under the old conditions.

“. . . Even the feeblest inhabitants of the towns, both men and women, will be capable, after an apprenticeship of a few hours, of superintending the machines, or of aiding, as the special aptitude of each shall determine in agricultural tasks. . . . *They will come to consider the duty as an excuse for spending a few pleasant hours in the open air.*”

It is clear that the anarchist paradise boasts, after all, substantial attractions. The socialists, up to the present, have contented themselves with demanding for the workers an eight hours' day, with one day's rest in seven. Five hours' work on five days in the *month* is the far more alluring prospect held out by the anarchists. This maximum of labour will suffice for the needs of the community owing to the suppression of social parasitism.

Having provided for the future of agriculture by reducing its exercise to a succession of enjoyable days in the country for the dwellers in town, Kropotkin

proceeds to deal with the miners. It would be difficult to exhibit their underground toil in an agreeable light, and he wisely abstains from making the endeavour. He appeals for a way out of the difficulty to his favourite *Deus ex machina*—Science. Recognising that, on the principle of “do what you choose,” it would be unreasonable to expect any one to choose to be a miner, he decides that science shall do away with the necessity for mining. In his own words :

“A machine will be invented that will gather up the rays of the sun and convert them into available energy, thus relieving man of the labour of bringing up from the bowels of the earth the solar heat at present locked up in the coal-pit.”

Here, again, Kropotkin has some scientific justification for his prophecy, but if its fulfilment must precede the triumph of anarchism, it will occur to the sceptical mind that that triumph may yet be distant.

Of more practical interest than the imaginative flights of Kropotkin is the dissertation we now quote of Jean Grave on the manner in which building operations will be conducted when the anarchist is lord in the land.

“... We will suppose that a house has to be erected. The first step will be to agree on the plan that shall be followed in its construction. Although anarchists have been reproached with in consequence, and with not knowing their own mind, we fancy they are not so unpractical as to amuse themselves when erecting a building by placing brick upon brick without knowing why and wherefore.

“In the society of the future, people will not build for the mere pleasure of building any more than they do at present ; they will build as now for a definite

purpose. It is self-evident that the persons who undertake the construction of a house, will know before they begin it what it is they are about.

"One of two things must happen. Either a group of masons will construct the house on their own initiative, or they will proceed with the building at the request of another group. In the first case they will have drawn up, or had drawn up, the plan on which the house is to be built ; in the second, the persons for whom the house is intended will provide the masons with a plan. In either case the purpose the building is to serve will have been settled beforehand, and this consideration will determine the plan that is ultimately adopted.

"It may happen that various plans will be proposed. Should this occur there will be no need for the intervention of authority to decide which plan shall be chosen, for the relations between individuals being free from all considerations of private interest, differences can only arise between them owing to their seeing things in a different light. The discussions that will ensue on the matter in debate will remove the minor differences of opinion, leaving only the views too divergent to be reconciled by argument. Each individual who still persists in thinking his plan the best, will arrange that it be carried out. Perhaps there will be three houses instead of one ; but what of it ? Nobody will have any reason to complain."

To justify his existence, every man, as has been seen, will be required—or rather, as the anarchists believe, will be eager—to furnish his quantum of work. In accordance with the fundamental principles of the doctrine, it rests entirely with each individual to decide what form his work shall take.



“ The army is a school of crime (Colojani and Hamon) ”  
(*Père Peinard*).

In this matter, as in all others, Jean Grave is at pains to explain that no trouble will arise in spite of the absence of authority:

“The instinctive desire that exists in every individual that his work shall be well done, will induce him to choose the work for which his natural aptitudes best qualify him, now that he will be swayed in his choice by no antagonistic influences.”

When the division of labour has been arranged, every one will set himself to his task. If, while the work is in progress, an individual should wish to change his occupation, he will seek for some one to take his place. In this way the work will proceed smoothly to the satisfaction of everybody concerned. In a word, perfect harmony, the ideal goal of humanity will be attained.

The anarchists profess themselves sanguine enough to believe that railways will be built and great engineering works accomplished by these simple methods.

Jean Grave discusses with keen solicitude the fate of the child in the society of the future, when in the place of marriage the “free union” will obtain, and family ties with every other obligation shall have been abolished. He writes on the subject with rare sympathy, if, as is his wont, with much ingenuousness. He is touched by the helpless state of the infant, and insists on its right to the utmost consideration. He does not hold with the socialist writers who advocate that the child should be removed from the custody of its mother. No doubt if the health of the mother demand it, she will confide the child to a nurse, who will no longer be a hireling, but will accept the trust of her own free will and glory in the charge. He even

dwells on the possibility of the child having to be brought up by artificial means, observing that it will be assured of pure milk from the cow now that it is in no one's interest to resort to adulteration. It is certainly strange to find the fanatical apologist of Vaillant and Leauthier turning his attention to such trivial domestic details.

The amenities of existence, the desire of the individual for intellectual and artistic enjoyment, are provided for in the ideal society of the anarchists, where they will be within the reach of all, instead of being reserved as at present for a minority. A few hours of supplementary labour will be the modest price of these inestimable benefits. Should an author wish to publish a book, and his admirers desire to read it, they will arrange between them to print, bind, and publish it. Science and art, in the same way, will be served by voluntary endeavour, and will flourish all the more now that they are a labour of love. Selfish considerations will cease to impede the march of science, and art will be more nobly inspired as the lives of men will be nobler.

The sketch of the constitution of society on the morrow of the Great Revolution which the anarchists hope is at hand, and which they are striving to bring about, is not so complete as the curious inquirer might wish, but the party writers are often silent when it might have been expected they would be explicit. They have contented themselves on the whole with indicating the main lines of their programme. The masses, ripe for revolt, will rise in their millions to insurrection ; the army will join the insurgents, the police will melt away, the rich will seek a refuge as best they can, and the ruling classes

will fly before the storm. The populace, left masters of the land, will inaugurate the new era. Blood will flow, for the struggle must inevitably be sharp, but in the face of the uselessness of resistance it will be short. The ground thus cleared, the real revolution will begin. The right of every one to live will be proclaimed, and to insure that it shall be no empty phrase the stocks of food and clothing and all habitable dwellings will be seized by the community. The death-blow will be dealt property. "This final revolution," Kropotkin declares, "will be crowned with success because plenty for every human being will be its outcome. Previous revolutions have failed for the reason that they left the people to starve." The community will make an inventory of its possessions. Of articles of which there is an abundant supply, every one will be at liberty to take as much as he chooses. Scarcer articles will be equally distributed according to the quantities in hand. The persons who have been dispossessed of their belongings will be treated on the same footing as every one else. The inhabitants of industrial centres will exchange the goods they manufacture for the produce raised by the agricultural labourer. Finally, dropping the consideration of particular cases, a settlement will in every instance be arrived at by adhering to the principle that the individual is under all circumstances to do as he chooses, it being further understood that none will have any interest to interfere with his complete liberty of action.

The anarchists stoutly deny that the application of their doctrines will do away with certain of the results of civilisation which even they acknowledge to be beneficial. Anarchism they contend is not synony-



mous with a return to a state of barbarism. The plague-spots of modern civilisation will disappear, but its triumphs will remain intact. There will be an end to all government, and property with other indefensible institutions will go by the board ; but the forward march of industry, science, and intellect will not be impeded for a moment. In the heritage left to humanity by the generations that have come and gone the anarchists will see what is good, and this they will accept, but they will refuse to be cumbered by the burden of woe that has been handed down from century to century.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE ANARCHIST.<sup>1</sup>

EVERY class of society has furnished recruits to the anarchist cause. Men of learning, peasants, labourers, journalists, architects, shop assistants, clerks, working-men, men of letters, business men, professors, manufacturers, barristers, persons of means, artisans, engineers, and Government employés of every description, are to be found in the ranks of the party. The doctrine propounded by such men as Reclus, Kropotkine, and Jean Grave, may number in all some ten thousand adherents.

When men of the most divergent origin, born in different regions of the globe, belonging to different classes of society, brought up in different religions, and exercising different professions, unite in accept-

<sup>1</sup> This inquiry into the mental characteristics of the anarchist is from the pen of M. A. Hamon, a writer on sociological subjects, whom we have already had occasion to mention. The title of the chapter is that of a short treatise which M. Hamon is about to publish, and its contents are a *résumé* of this forthcoming work. A parallel study by the same author of the "Psychology of the Professional Soldier," issued early in the present year, aroused wide attention on the Continent, its ability being as generally recognised as its conclusions were hotly contested. M. Hamon claims to write from a purely scientific standpoint, and without party bias.

DEDICATED TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.



“So you are astonished that the miners, their patience exhausted, have risen in revolt, and are wrecking property. There is no need to be. This is nothing to what you will see later on” (*Père Peinard*).

ing the same theories, it is to be expected that they will have many mental qualities in common, the result of a similar brain formation ; for it should be unnecessary to prove that the partisans of any particular doctrine offer kindred psychological characteristics.

These mental peculiarities are the necessary result of the action of its environment on a brain more susceptible to one impression than to another. Climatic, social, and professional influences deaden, stimulate, or develop, to an average degree the various tendencies of any particular mind. It has been seen that in the case of the anarchists the environment is most dissimilar, so that little would be gained by studying the action of environment on brains predisposed to adopt the theories of anarchism. Of far greater interest are the intellectual attributes common to all anarchists, whatever their origin, their class, their profession, or their religion. A knowledge of these characteristics will supply a clue to the causes which predispose the individual to accept the anarchist doctrine.

At the same time, the determination of these characteristics is a difficult and delicate undertaking. In writing the "Psychology of the Professional Soldier," we were able to base our conclusions on facts obtained from historical and official documents ; but in the present investigation this method is only applicable in the case of anarchists who have committed acts of violence. As the method is invaluable, leading as it does to positive results, we have resorted to a variation of it, in the shape of an inquiry conducted as follows. To a number of anarchists we put this question: "How and why are you an anarchist?"

The comparative study of their answers will indicate the mental characteristics common to the individuals to whom we applied. From these "confessions" we shall be able to deduce the psychology of the anarchist, or, in other words, to determine the average representative type of the disciples of the doctrine.

The examination of these "confessions" conclusively proves that the most important mental characteristic of the anarchist is the Spirit of Revolt. This tendency which exists in a latent state in all men, but is usually weakened by the influence of their surroundings, is very pronounced, from the first, in the anarchist, while in his case its violence is increased instead of diminished by the environment.

The spirit of revolt displays itself in various guises; as a spirit of combativeness, of criticism, of scepticism, or of innovation, for example.

"I read Victor Hugo," was the answer we obtained from S. (*At present employed in a humble capacity in a house of business; formerly a working gardener. Thirty-two years old. Elementary education.*) "and I sincerely assert that the poet had an immense influence on my ideas . . . Victor Hugo fired me with the *spirit of revolt*. He showed me a path which I have followed. . . ."

"I endured the very greatest privations. I have been two days without eating. I became conscious of a spirit of revolt within me . . ." (*D., working jeweller, twenty-four years old*).

"The surroundings that are usual in a well-to-do family generated in me a spirit of revolt" (*André Veideaux, man of letters, about thirty*).

"I have always had a hatred of authority, and the greatest disinclination to do what I was ordered to

do. Anything in the nature of an injunction appears to me detestable, and I have never voluntarily submitted to a command. The whole time I was at school I was in constant revolt against discipline, not from a love of mischief, but from an unconquerable aversion to obedience" (*Bernard Lazare, literary man, twenty-eight years old*).

"My childhood was passed in various schools and institutions, from all of which I was expelled for continual revolts against authority" (*Ph. D., medical student, twenty-four years old*).

In the examples just cited the spirit of revolt is seen in its most indeterminate form. The individual revolts in a general way against family, school, and social authority, indeed against authority of every description. In other cases, as we shall proceed to show, the tendency to rebellion assumes definite shape, in which case it takes the form of an inquiring, critical, combative cast of mind.

"As soon as I was capable in the smallest measure of independent thought the bent of my mind displayed itself in a pronounced leaning towards anarchist theories. I mean that from the first I had a horror of authority, of dogmatism, and of conventional ideas, of those opinions which people commonly receive without any attempt to control them on their own account" (*A. F. Hérold, literary man, thirty years old*).

"I was induced almost unconsciously to reflect upon the anarchist doctrine, and still more to take stock of my own ideas and to subject them to a severe criticism" (*Darnaud, a retired officer of the army, of independent means, about fifty years old*).

"As far back as I can remember I was imbued

with a spirit of contradiction. Still, though often obstinate in my opinions, I did not slight or despise the views of others. I was always open to conviction" (*M. Pujo, literary man, twenty years old*).

"My father was a man of original ideas, of strong intellect, and deeply tinged with the spirit of inquiry. I received a liberal education, but at school would only work at subjects in which I took an interest. At the same time my revolt against the masters and the set curriculum was purely passive. I incline naturally to criticism and also to combativeness. I often attempt to convince myself that I am wrong in holding any particular opinion" (*O., man of science, about thirty years old*).

"I ran away from school because a master struck me. . . . Afterwards, at college, I was fond of criticising the authors I read. I found it impossible to force myself to accept ideas without discussing them, even when they came from my masters, for whom I had no respect. I obtained my medical degree by performing a surgical operation, which the professors declared was absurd and foolish. It is now universally practised" (*Dr. H., hospital surgeon, thirty-one years old*).

The above quotations are typical, and reveal the spirit of revolt under the form of the combative and critical spirit. The spirit of innovation is traceable in the confession of Dr. H., who passed his examination by performing an operation pronounced foolhardy.

This spirit of innovation is an essential mental characteristic of the anarchist. The following are cases in point:—

"I was dissatisfied with the methods of my pro-

fessors at the School of Art. I sought an opening more in harmony with my nature, and found it in Impressionism " (*F., artist, about forty years old*).

"I wrote in the periodical reviews against the admirers of all literary schools whatsoever, holding, as I do, that it is of the very essence of art to express one's emotions by a personal formula instead of by methods derived from others" (*A. Retté, poet*).

"I have invented several machines, though previously told by recognised scientists that I had set myself an impossible task" (*C., engineer, about sixty years old*).

It is needless, however, to multiply extracts. Men who are in revolt against the present constitution of society, which they would replace by an organisation in their opinion superior, must of necessity be innovators, or at least be tolerant of innovation. Persons predisposed to accept the anarchist doctrine are distinguished, then, by their love of novelty in art and science, and by their feverish search after new formulæ.

It may be objected that the fact that the spirit of revolt in its diverse phases is noticeable in the handful of persons we have questioned, cannot be held to be proof that this particular tendency is an essential mental characteristic of the anarchist. We think it may be shown that the objection is invalid. The ordinary methods of reasoning compel us to the conclusion that men whose object is the annihilation of all existing social institutions, must necessarily be endowed with a brain formation of which one of the characteristics will naturally be a tendency to revolt against the established order of things. Logically, then, by the mere fact that a man is an anarchist, he



is a rebel, or, in other words, he is imbued with the spirit of revolt.

The positive method of investigation we have adopted confirms the *à priori* deductions that result from the application of the rational method. We may add that, though we have only cited the replies of a few persons, it would be easy to add to them, as our inquiry was far more extensive than appears from the limited number of answers we have thought it well to give.

The individuals to whom we addressed our questions may properly be considered as representative of the entire body of anarchists by reason of their different birth and education, their divergent rank in society, the various occupations they follow. Our inquiry was not directed with a view to bolster up any preconceived idea, but solely to elicit the truth. We are therefore justified in asserting that the spirit of revolt is a mental characteristic common to all anarchists, and that its presence in an individual inclines him to the acceptance of anarchist theories.

On the other hand, though the spirit of rebellion is to be met with in all anarchists, it by no means follows that every one in whom this tendency to revolt may be detected, is an anarchist. For instance, in the political and social world many of the partisans of forms of government no longer in existence are intellectual rebels. All socialists again—the anarchists are merely a fraction of the socialist party—come under the same category. We shall endeavour in consequence to find a mental quality more exclusively characteristic of the anarchist; a quality distinguishing him from other human beings imbued to a greater or less extent with the spirit of revolt.

The analysis of the confessions we have collected shows that this special characteristic resides in an ardent love of liberty. The ambition of the anarchist is to live in absolute freedom. He hates laws and authority.

"Morality cannot exist without liberty. The regeneration of humanity is only possible by liberty" (*Eliséé Reclus*).

"I have never been able to understand of what use is authority or why it should exist. It is inconceivable to me that a man should arrogate to himself the right to lord it over his fellow creatures in any manner whatever" (*Bernard Lazare*).

"So far as I am concerned my chief desire was to be free, to be myself . . ." (*O.*)

"Man is intended to live his life without let or hindrance, without ties in the glorious freedom of nature. . . . How can he remain himself under surroundings, in which an artificial existence, based on obedience, is substituted for a natural state of liberty?" (*Darnaud*).

"It is only recently that the social question has preoccupied me, but when I consider the successive stages of my life I note the continuous development of a guiding principle, of an instinct I may say, common to them all. I allude to that love of liberty which has finally determined my views on social subjects . . ." (*M. Pujo*).

"My main characteristic was . . . an immense love of liberty" (*A. Vediaux*).

This general passion for freedom is only what *à priori* considerations would lead the inquirer to expect, the liberty of the individual being the cornerstone of the anarchist doctrine. Anarchists are, above

all, bent on living under no restraint, no laws, no authority, so that nothing may interfere with their self-development. They assert that the entire machinery of social obligations cramps the human being, obstructs his moral and intellectual growth, weakens certain portions of the human organism, and unduly stimulates others, radically deforms the character, in short, just as the iron shoes resorted to by the women of China disfigure their feet.

Many of the answers that have reached us show the leaning of the anarchist to intense individualism.

"As I learnt to know myself better, my sense of dignity increased . . ." (S.).

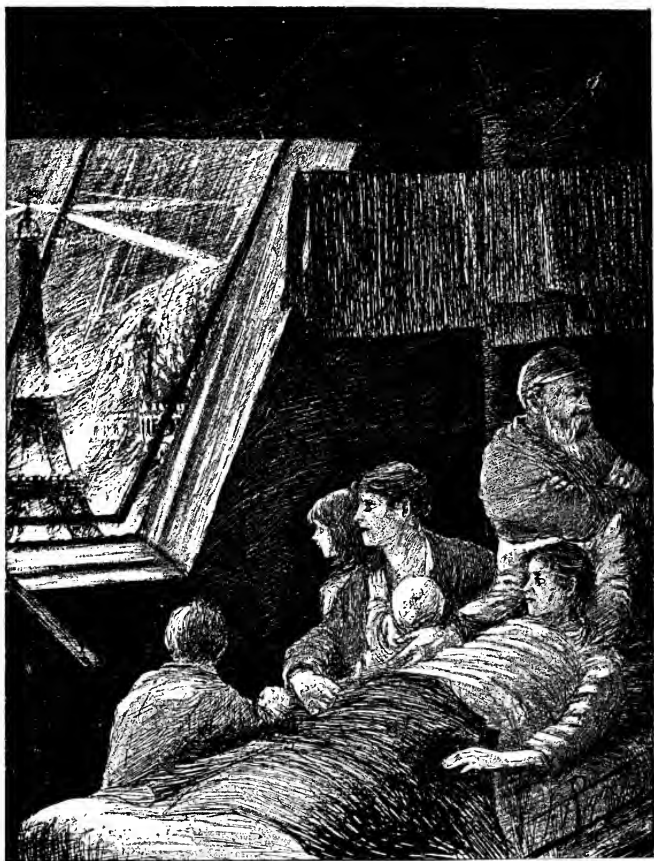
"I was one of the first to insist that the logical and desirable outcome of anarchism, indeed the sole justification of the doctrine, is Individualism carried to its extreme limits . . ." (*A. Veidoux*).

"Anarchism satisfied my aspirations after truth and emancipation. I heartily accepted the doctrine . . ." (*K., a cobbler, uneducated, about thirty years old*).

"If anarchism in its essence is a system of ethics based on the principle of individualism, I can say unhesitatingly in reply to your question that I became imbued with anarchist ideas from the moment I commenced the study of metaphysics" (*C. Mauclair*).

"Artists are by nature individualists, since it is only by the assertion of their personality that they are what they are" (*M., painter, about forty years old*).

"I am an anarchist, if by anarchist you understand a man who is a law unto himself, and I hope to remain one so long as I have sufficient intellectual strength to conceive humanity existing under nobler conditions than does the chaffering, police-ridden



“How the poor spend the 14th of July (a national *fête* day in France)”  
(*Père Feinard*).

society of the present" (*T.P., musician and man of letters, about thirty years old*).

All these persons, the working-man equally with the artist, are pre-eminently concerned with the cultivation of their individuality. Their constant aim is to develop their character, to acquire a distinct personality, and it must be admitted that their endeavour is successful. The tendency is specially marked in artists and in literary and scientific men, who as the painter, M., observes, "are by nature individualists, since it is only by the assertion of their personality that they are what they are." It will not be denied that this assertion takes place. It is a matter of common observation that persons of the classes in question are perpetually in search of new truths and new formulæ in their efforts to win a place apart among the crowd that labour in the particular field of intellectual activity they have chosen. They are "some one," as the popular expression puts it. This individualism is also found, however, in uneducated persons, though in many instances they have made up for their original lack of instruction by study undertaken late in life.

We are now justified in declaring that the spirit of revolt, the love of liberty and individualism, are mental characteristics common to the anarchist. Still, the two last mentioned qualities are, no more than the first, exclusively observable in anarchists. There are innumerable individualists who are not anarchists. This assertion will not be contested, but it will be instructive to give the following extract from a letter of M. Viellé-Griffin, the well-known poet:—

"My æsthetic convictions which are based on the

axiom that art is the normal expression of an individuality—by which I mean that an artist worthy of the name is instinctively conscious of the laws that must determine the form in which he shall give expression to his conceptions. It follows that I hold all dogmatism detrimental to art—my æsthetic opinions, I say, led me to consider whether their nature did not involve my adherence to the doctrine of the social liberty of the individual.

“I must confess that as yet I am far from being clear on all the points that present themselves for consideration in this connection. My philosophy is essentially theistic, but it would not prevent my acceptance of an anarchism controlled, if I may so express myself, by a certain spirit of order, could I extract such a doctrine as I am perhaps on the point of doing, from the works of the various individualist writers I am making my study. I should say, however, that the *Révolution* has always declared me to be a poet in sympathy with the existing order of things, and in reality I am not certain whether it is justified or not in doing so, though I am ready to admit that it should be a capable judge in the matter.”

An immense number of artists and literary men might with propriety be classed by the *Révolution* in the same category as M. Viellé-Griffin. The younger school of æstheticians are, with scarcely an exception, individualists and intellectual rebels; they display a leaning towards anarchism if they have not yet formally adopted its theories. In many instances they profess a profound contempt for the mass of humanity. M. Laurent Tailhade declared, in the course of a lecture, that he looked forward to the

glorious time when anarchy would be an accomplished fact, for then *the populace would kiss the footprints of the poet!*

This contempt for a portion of their fellow creatures must keep the men we are speaking of from thorough adhesion to the anarchist doctrine, for we shall find that a characteristic of the true anarchist is Altruism, or the love of one's fellows. That this is so will appear from an examination of the "confessions" of all those who avow themselves anarchists, so that our *à priori* conclusions are once more borne out by the facts of the case.

"There was nothing," writes Bernard Lazare, "to prevent me adopting the most usual form of egotism, the egotism which merely manifests itself in an effort to free oneself and oneself alone from the shackles with which we are loaded or threatened. . . . Indeed, my sole consideration at first was that I, personally, was exposed to the hurtful action of circumstances over which I had no control, and to the influence of wills other than my own. I went on to reflect on the position of men in general, and judging from my own feelings those of my fellow-creatures condemned like myself to continuous or intermittent servitude, I saw that what was hateful to me must be hateful to others."

"Pity for the victims of misfortune and the execration of those who prey on the weak and helpless must inevitably be the sentiments of all right-thinking men" (*C. Mauguier*).

"I made a point of questioning all the unfortunate creatures with whom I came in contact in this purgatory [a hospital] worse than that of Dante, . . . the result of my investigations was terrible. . . . I

came to understand what fellow-feeling means" (*A. Retté*).

"The reasons which have led me to adopt the anarchist doctrine are, . . . thirdly, the suffering with which the world is filled ; . . . ninthly, my desire to see signs of happiness around me . . ." (*Paul Signac, painter, about thirty years old*).

" . . . I am moved by a great admiration for the doctrines of charity and universal love . . ." (*Ph. D.*).

"I am an anarchist, first of all, because of the hunger, the cold, the weariness, and the despair to which multitudes of unfortunate human beings are condemned by the abject misery of their surroundings. Their situation is bad enough when they are earning regular wages, but it becomes frightful in the periods of enforced idleness brought on by the economical crises that are the bane of our rotten civilisation. I am an anarchist because I have seen these poor wretches beg in fear and trembling to be allowed to slave for a morsel of bread, and turn pale, if they could be paler than they were, when obliged to refuse the work offered them on account of the iniquitous conditions accompanying the offer. I have seen them turn away, their brow covered with a cold sweat as they heard the employer say with a grin, 'He isn't hungry enough yet.' And it should be *they* not *he*, for behind these poor creatures were their wives and children. It is scenes of this sort, and they happen in every country and every trade, that make men anarchists" (*A., working modeller, thirty-one years old*).

These extracts reveal intense love of humanity and profound pity for the humble and the weak, or, as the writers would say, the preyed on and the des-



poiled. Many of these individuals who are moved by the sufferings of others are sprung from the wealthy and well-to-do classes, and have not themselves felt the sting of poverty. That they should be affected as they are is proof that they are characterised by keen emotional sensibility. The same quality is developed in an equal degree in the anarchists who belong to the poorer classes, for having suffered themselves their suffering is increased by that of their "brothers" in misery. The declaration of A. is typical in this respect.

This moral sensibility, carried in many cases to an extreme pitch, is very generally to be observed in anarchists. It may be said that they worship Life, and their constant pre-occupation is to avoid imposing pain on other living beings. This applies even to beings of an inferior order, many anarchists being vegetarians.

The sense of justice is the natural accompaniment of altruism and sympathy with suffering. A man who is affected by the misfortunes of a section of society is certain to contrast with them the more favoured situation of other members of the community. The result of this constant comparison is necessarily to develop in him the sense of justice inherent in every human being. In the case of the anarchist this sense is sharpened to an unusual degree, for the anarchist is by nature a keen observer, as is proved by the quotations already given or yet to be cited. He is careful to take account of all the social phenomena that come under his notice, and the impression they make upon him is considerable in consequence of the emotional susceptibility he has already been shown to possess. This impression, deepened by

the influence of the spirit of revolt, creates an abnormal development of the sense of justice. The voluntary admissions of a number of anarchists will, however, throw more light on this subject than the greatest profusion of arguments.

"We are revolutionists, because we desire justice, and see injustice flourishing everywhere. . . . To our thinking such a state of things is iniquitous, and we wish to change it" (*Elisée Reclus*.)

"I had, moreover, a horror of injustice . . ." (*A. Veidaux*).

"From my earliest years I was shocked by injustice . . ." (*Dr. H.*).

"Why should there be some children warmly clad and taken every care of, while there are others in such wretched plight that they seem little savages?" (*K.*).

"I am a modeller and a member of the committee of my trade union. In this latter capacity I was quickly conscious of the difficulties with which working-men are beset in their endeavour to organise. I saw the uselessness of their efforts, and the inferiority of their position compared with that of the capitalist. I felt that this was unjust . . ." (*L., thirty-one years old*).

"At that time I held vague socialistic opinions, which seemed, however, to satisfy my indefinite desire for justice . . ." (*O.*).

"I learnt to regard my position as a victim of capital as the outcome of a social organisation, which permitted the strong to make slaves of the weak and in which justice was of no account" (*S.*).

"Why am I an anarchist and why shall I remain one? Because it is iniquitous that one man should

OUR PRECIOUS EQUALITY!

COCHONNE D'ÉGALITÉ!



“The rich feast while the poor are in a state of semi-starvation”  
(Père Peinard).

be allowed to prey on another" (*P., architect, thirty-three years old*).

" . . . When I question myself, my better judgment directs me to abjure whatever is unjust . . ." (*A.*).

It is clear from these extracts that an unusually keen sense of justice is a characteristic of the anarchist. *A priori* arguments would lead the inquirer to expect the presence of this quality as they did that of the others that distinguish the anarchist. Appeals to justice are frequent in the current statements of the anarchist doctrine, which is in itself a bitter criticism of our unjust social organisation, and a picture of an ideal society in which justice shall reign supreme. It was, therefore, inevitable that those who accept these theories should possess the sense of justice strongly developed.

The marked presence of this characteristic should be accompanied by the sense of logic, by the power to reason, though it should be noted that we do not pronounce in any way on the value of the premises on which such reasoning is based. A natural disposition to connect ideas and arguments indicates in those who possess it a notion of justice. Such persons have a sense of fitness which will be developed in proportion to the sense of justice. It follows that as anarchists are characterised by the possession of the sense of justice, they should not be wanting in the sense of logic. This *à priori* deduction is confirmed by our experimental investigation.

"Among my characteristics is . . . the sense of logic" (*A. Veidoux*).

"In the meantime I was in the habit of arguing with the anarchists who opposed me in the course

of my electoral campaign, and I found them more logical than the ordinary run of politicians, who are narrow in their views and allow themselves to be swayed by petty dislikes" (K.).

"I flatter myself that I am strictly logical. Nothing can prevent me following out an argument to its extreme consequences, however startling they may be. Most of those who have criticised my views have remarked on the 'excess of logic' that distinguishes them" (O.).

"As I am the inventor of various mechanical appliances that have been turned to practical account, you will allow that I have a logical mind. It is by noting what has already been done, and comparing a variety of machines and by reasoning on what I have seen, that I have arrived at my inventions.

"I became an anarchist by dint of reasoning, by the application of logic . . ." (Dr. H.).

"After a thorough and conscientious study of anarchist communism I was soon *forced* to recognise that this individualist doctrine was the solution I was in search of . . ." (*Séverin L., journalist and dramatic author, about thirty years old*).

"The reasons which have led me to adopt the anarchist doctrine are . . . fifthly, the fact that it is logical, kindly, and straightforward; . . . tenthly, the laws of physiology (the rights of the stomach, the brain, the eyes, &c.)" (*P. Signac*).

" . . . My mind was never satisfied with partial solutions. I always follow out my ideas and attempt to arrive at their extreme logical consequences" (*Ph. D*).

"The more I have seen and learnt, the greater has

been the number of prejudices I have met with and abjured" (*A. F. Hérold*).

It is clear from these extracts that the sense of logic is among the general mental characteristics of the anarchist, and that it is equally noticeable in those of cultivated intellect and in the uneducated. Further proof of this particular endowment is afforded by many anarchist writings. It will not be contested that such books as Kropotkine's "Anarchist Ethics," or Grave's "Anarchism and Moribund Society," reveal marked logical power in their authors. The same remark may be made of many anarchist pamphlets, more especially of those dealing with the destructive side of the doctrine. The anarchists show weaker logic when propounding their constructive theories.

As we have said, anarchists are close observers. This denotes a desire on their part for knowledge, and it is a fact that the anarchist is of an inquiring turn of mind. He scrutinises the social phenomena around him, and is generally addicted to study. It is needless to insist on this peculiarity in the case of men of admitted scientific attainments, of men, for instance, such as Elisée Reclus, Kropotkine, S. Merlino, Jean Grave, and Ch. Malato. But the spirit of curiosity is not confined to the recognised scientists of the party, as will be seen from the following extracts:—

"At college I fed my curiosity by diligently perusing books that my masters did their best to keep out of my hands. . . . I contrived to read Darwin, Létourneau, Proudhon, Blanqui, some of Herbert Spencer's works, the *Révolution*, and much miscellaneous literature of all countries and ages . . ." (*A. Veidoux*).

"I came by chance at a friend's house on a pamphlet by Malato. I was greatly struck by it. Indeed, it changed my whole existence. I abandoned the life of pleasure I had been leading, and devoted myself entirely to reading and study. I devoured the works of writers on economical subjects and of the materialist philosophers . . ." (*D.*).

"In consequence of my reputation at school of being a hard worker, I was sent up for a scholarship at college, which I won. I fulfilled the expectations of my masters for a time, but I ceased after a while to take any interest in the regular subjects of study, devoting myself with the greatest ardour to desultory reading. I devoured every book that fell into my hands. At a later period I read the materialist philosophers, and especially Büchner, who exercised immense influence over me. . . . While studying medicine, I was careful to keep myself informed of the progress of science. I was passionately fond of reading and studying and am so still" (*Dr. H.*).

"I eagerly read every book that came within my reach, . . . buying books and newspapers out of my slender resources. I occasionally attempted to write poetry, struggling to give expression to the thoughts that crowded into my mind" (*K.*).

"After taking a degree both in science and arts, I began the study of medicine. . . . Buddhism also occupied my attention. . . . At this juncture I was induced to read the various periodical reviews and other purely literary productions" (*Ph. D.*).

"On leaving college I began writing on subjects connected with physical science in the technical reviews. I also busied myself with experiments in

electricity. After serving in the army I took up the study of medicine, and subsequently that of sociology" (*O.*).

"Leibnitz and Aristotle, my favourite authors, had prepared me for the study of the theories of anarchism. I then applied myself to the works of Proudhon, Guyau, and Ibsen, writers who naturally did not induce me to change my views" (*L. Malquin, literary man, about thirty years old*).

"From the age of twenty to twenty-five I wandered, as many others have done, from philosophy to philosophy, being attracted in turn by the theories of Kant, Hegel, and Spinoza. This lasted until I became acquainted with the works of Darwin. I was much struck by the law of evolution, and I took a delight in reflecting on its application to social phenomena" (*P.*).

We have now seen that the spirit of inquiry is common to the scientific men who avow themselves anarchists, to literary men such as Mirbeau, Paul Adam, and Bernard Lazare, who profess anarchist tendencies, and to members of the party of defective education. *A priori* considerations make it appear probable that such would be the case. The desire to learn is tantamount to a wish to effect improvement in the individual. Men inclined to study and concerned with the various manifestations of art, science, and literature are engaged in cultivating their individuality, a duty to which the doctrine of anarchism attaches paramount importance. The anarchist, then, ought naturally to display a desire for knowledge. It has been shown that he does do so. This is further proof that he is gifted, in a measure, with the sense of logic, for were he not, he would not



strive to improve himself, or to make good his deficiencies ; he would be an individualist only in name, not in fact.

It is proper to assert on rational grounds that one of the phases of the spirit of revolt should be a tendency to combativeness. This being so, the anarchist must of necessity be prone to rebel against every form of restraint and whatever shocks his love of justice or his altruism. As a rule, he has been induced by logical considerations to adopt the theories of anarchism. He believes in consequence that he is in possession of the truth—whether he be so or not is of no concern to the argument. This conviction coupled with his altruistic proclivities impels him to impart his views to those around him. By a sort of auto-suggestion the doctrine and its propagation tend after a while to take exclusive possession of his mind. His thoughts are bent incessantly in this direction till the ardent faith is his, that grows out of attachment to what has acquired the force of a fixed idea—the faith that will remove mountains. He is led to give utterance to his ideas on every possible occasion, when he is about his business, in private life, even in the criminal dock and in prison. He speaks at public meetings, he writes in newspapers, or he publishes pamphlets and books. Consciously or unconsciously he is engaged in a continuous endeavour to proselytise. His gospel may be old or new, good or bad, but it cannot be gainsaid that he is a veritable apostle.

The existence amongst anarchists of the proselytising zeal, and of the spirit, which is akin to it of combativeness, is abundantly proved by the “confessions” we have received:—

"We shall always be up in arms against injustice and every attack on the dignity of the individual. As long as the present infamous state of things exists, anarchists and communists will be found doing their utmost to bring about a revolution" (*Elisée Reclus*).

"I have given a whole-hearted adherence to the



CAPITAL AND LABOUR.

(From the almanac of the Père Peinard.)

anarchist doctrine, and I have paid dearly for my temerity. I have encountered endless rebuffs, but my conscience is easy, and so long as our social organisation is responsible for the sufferings of a single human being, I shall be the enemy of that organisation" (*K.*).

"The inquiry you are instituting . . . may lead some men to reflect on what is going on around them. It is such men that I have in my mind as I write. If there are thoughtful, serious men in the well-to-do class, to which I myself belong . . . I hope these lines will meet their eye and exercise a salutary influence on their opinions. . . . I cannot refrain from thinking of the heroes who throughout the world are struggling to spread the truth, and are paying with their lives and their liberty for their devotion to the glorious anarchist cause. . . . As far as my surroundings allow, I am heart and soul with the men who are fighting to-day, and who, as I hope, will triumph to-morrow" (*Darnaud*).

"I am convinced that the anarchist doctrine is the true doctrine, and for that reason I am happy. My endeavour is to acquaint as many persons as I can with these truths. . . . I never lose an opportunity of placing my views before my patients" (*Dr. H.*).

"I am so impressed with the grandeur, the truth, and the nobility of the anarchist idea, that it positively pains me to see it misunderstood. To help in spreading a truer conception of the doctrine, I have cheerfully sacrificed my ease and my career" (*Séverine L.*).

"From the moment I became acquainted with the theories of anarchism, I was as happy as a man who has been relieved of an intolerable burden, and I at once imparted my new convictions to my friends, two or three of whom I was fortunate enough to convert" (*P.*).

"Before I entered the hospital I was an anarchist in theory only; I left it a militant member of the party, and trust I have remained one" (*A. Retté*).

Every line of these quotations is stamped with the proselytising spirit. The main pre-occupation of every writer is clearly to bring others to his own way of thinking.

It is a remarkable fact which any one may observe for himself, that many of the articles appearing in papers avowedly hostile to anarchism, such as the *Figaro*, the *Journal*, the *Gil Blas*, and the *Écho de Paris*, are deeply tinged with anarchist views. It is not the tone of these articles that is to be wondered at, for they are signed by such writers as Mirbeau, Bauer, Descaves, Paul Adam, Bernard Lazare, Ajalbert, and Séverine, but their insertion in the papers we have named. In the periodical publications which have been dealt with in a preceding chapter, there is scarcely a page which does not advocate the destruction of what the anarchists term "social prejudices," meaning nationality, authority, the family religion, the magistracy, or the army.

With rare exceptions, the members of the intellectual classes, men of learning, literary men, and artists, are at present advocates of individualism. The natural consequence of this state of things is the incessant promulgation by the most varied agencies amongst all ranks of society of individualist theories.

To sum up the results of our experimental inquiry, we find that the mental constitution of the typical anarchist is the outcome of an aggregate of psychological characteristics common to all the followers of the doctrine. Every anarchist partakes of this ideal type, and may in this way be distinguished from other men. The typical anarchist may be described as a man imbued with the spirit of revolt in one or

several of its phases (the spirit of combativeness, of inquiry, of criticism, of innovation), endowed with a deep love of liberty, and with a strong leaning to individualism, and possessed of an insatiable curiosity and a keen desire to acquire knowledge. These mental qualities are accompanied by a warm affection for his fellow creatures, a highly developed moral sensibility, a profound sense of justice, a sense of logic, and strong combative tendencies.

## CHAPTER X.

### THE RESULTS OF THE ANARCHIST AGITATION.

THERE is little to add to the account of the anarchist movement contained in the preceding chapters. Having completed our survey of the documentary evidence—evidence that has hitherto been neglected—bearing upon the agitation, it will be interesting to see what the anarchists may claim to have accomplished after twenty years of ardent proselytising effort.

One of the most unexpected results is the attitude the party has assumed towards the memory of those of its members who have suffered death at the hands of the civil authority. The companions who were hanged at Chicago, or garotted at Xeres, Pallas, who was shot in Spain, or Ravachol, Vaillant and Émile Henry who were guillotined in France, after being extolled as heroes are now worshipped as martyrs. This “martyrolatry” is of comparatively recent growth. The almost religious veneration in which the victims to the cause are held at present was unknown before the quadruple execution at Chicago in 1887. Previous to this date there had been no symbolical manifestations of the doctrine. The

anarchists, unlike the majority of political parties, had not even chosen an emblematic sign around which to group themselves, a flower such as the lily of the French Royalists, or the primrose of the English Conservatives; or a banner, or the cap of liberty that had aroused the enthusiasm of the revolutionists of the last century. It is true that Louise Michel, when she led a band of rioters to the Invalides, displayed a black flag, but her example was only followed in isolated instances.

The rise of the cult of the martyrs to the cause has had the effect of providing the party with a symbolism. The guillotine is the nimbus of the saints of the new religion, as is seen in the symbolical portrait of Ravachol, which we reproduce. The neophytes are not subjected as yet to a form of baptism, or a ceremony of initiation; but the anarchists have their recognised pilgrimages, for example, to the wall in the cemetery of Père Lachaise, where the Paris communists fell before the rifles of a firing platoon; to the statue of Diderot, or to the sinister plot of ground where the criminals are buried who die on the Place de la Roquette. Nor is the party without its high priests, "who," as the famous French reformer, Père Hyacinthe, remarked on a recent occasion, "may possibly be sincere in their preposterous fanaticism, but who none the less scatter broadcast the seed that will produce the Ravachols and Vaillants of to-morrow."

The party hesitated awhile before it decided to canonise Ravachol. The peculiarly gruesome crimes that formed the prelude to his anarchist crusade, clouded his reputation for a time, but a strong reaction is setting in in his favour, the odour of sanctity

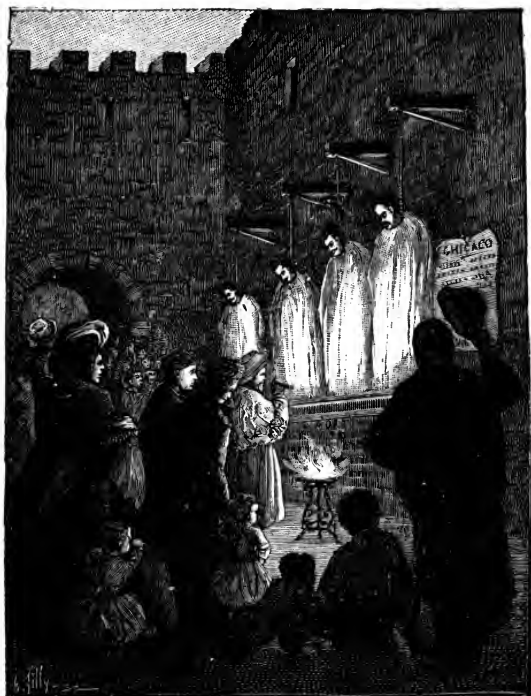
attaching to this curious martyr is no longer contested. Even the *Révolution*, who would have none of him at first, capitulated in the end and joined the ranks of his admirers. Octave Mirbeau and Tabarant sang his praises, as we have seen, in the *En-Dehors*. A. Goullé attempted his defence in the *Art Social*. From an article entitled "A Eulogy of Ravachol," published by Paul Adam in the *Entrée* we quote, on account of its significance, the following passages:—

"We should have ceased to pre-occupy ourselves with politics, had not the martyrdom of Ravachol revived on a sudden the tradition of self-sacrifice and furnished the present age with an example of a man laying down his life for the good of humanity. . . . Untouched by the interminable debates in the courts of justice, by the endless commentaries of the Press, by the most various efforts to defend a legal murder, Ravachol still stands forth a disciple of the lofty ideal preached by the old religion, the ideal which bids a man seek death, if by dying he can benefit the universe. Ravachol has re-introduced into the world the Acceptable Sacrifice."

The conclusion of the article is not less worthy of note:—

"Ravachol saw that the earth is full of anguish, and he has glorified the sufferings of his fellows by offering his own agony as a holocaust. His benevolence, his unselfishness, the vigour of his deeds, and his courage in the face of death the irremediable, crown him with legendary splendour. In this hour of cynicism and irony A SAINT IS BORN TO US. His blood will rouse the courage of other martyrs. The noble conception of universal altruism will spring from the ruddy pool at the foot of the guillotine. A





THE CHICAGO "MARTYRS."

*(From an engraving circulated by the anarchist party.)*

death pregnant of consequences is about to be consummated. An epoch-making event in the history of the human race is about to be recorded in its annals. The legal murder of Ravachol will be the beginning of a new era."

After his execution the feeling of sympathy with Ravachol spread rapidly among the anarchists. His utterances were carefully collected and published. We quote two typical reflections attributed to him:—

"Labour has always appeared to me to be humiliating, both from a moral and physical point of view. In spite of this feeling I have consented to work.

"There are persons who think that if marriage were abolished, children would run some danger of neglect. This risk is absurdly exaggerated, as even if the father were forgetful of his duties, the mother would be there to take care of the child, her natural instincts forbidding her to disown her offspring."

The admirers of Ravachol pretend that a definite purpose inspired his successive crimes which, looked at in this light, become so many practical illustrations of the anarchist doctrine. It has been held that he is the incarnation of the revolt of the individual, the typical malcontent, avenging himself on society for the injuries suffered at its hands. His murders, his outrages, his spoliations, perpetrated without respect even for the grave, his violent death, are all symbolical of the arch-rebel at war with an iniquitous social system. Not content with hailing him a martyr and consecrating him a saint, the anarchists have extolled him in terms of the most revolting blasphemy. The portraits of him which we reproduce have been distributed by the thousand as if he had been a benefactor of humanity, whose memory



SYMBOLICAL PORTRAIT OF RAVACHOL.  
(From the almanac of the Père Peinard.)

it was a duty to treasure. Several pamphlets have been issued devoted solely to his glorification, the most important being "Carnot and Ravachol in Hell," and "Was Ravachol an Anarchist? Certainly he was." The first mentioned production, which is signed G. Edinger, is a poorly written dialogue, or rather a series of declamatory tirades. The second is anonymous and was written, as is stated in the preface, to prove that "Ravachol was generous, kindly and eminently human, and above all a representative anarchist, in spite of what a few so-called anarchists have been saying to the contrary."

The glorification of Ravachol has been followed by a similar movement in favour of all those who have suffered for their devotion to the anarchist cause. The almanac issued by the *Père Peinard* in 1893, which is little else than an anarchist martyrology, lent fuel to the flame. The party pamphleteers took up the cry and multiplied effusions laudatory of whoever had struck a blow however dastardly for anarchism. So far only Ravachol has attained to the dignity of having the memory of his exploits perpetuated in verse. We quote the first stanza and the chorus of the production which is known as "Ravachol's Hymn":—

" In the immense city of Paris,  
There are many who live in plenty.  
There are the destitute, too,  
Who are starving :  
Their teeth are sharp set.  
Live the sound, live the sound,  
Their teeth are sharp set,  
Live the sound  
Of the explosion !

*Chorus.*—Let us dance the dance of Ravachol,  
Live the sound, live the sound,  
Let us dance the dance of Ravachol.  
Live the sound  
Of the explosion.  
The time is coming  
When all the rich will have a taste of the bomb.  
The time is coming  
When all the rich will be blown up,  
Will be blown sky high.”

Ravachol was buried in the cemetery of Montbrison, the country town in which he was executed. On the anniversary of his death the Paris companions would have liked to have honoured his memory by a pilgrimage to his tomb, but the distance being too great, they contented themselves with gathering round the statue of Diderot. We reproduce in facsimile (on p. 242) the autograph invitation circulated amongst the comrades with a view to induce them to attend this ceremony.

The translation of the document is as follows :—

#### “ NOTICE.

“ A group of comrades, mindful of the past, inform all those who hold that Ravachol was solely actuated by his love of progress, that they have decided not to allow the anniversary of his martyrdom (Tuesday next the 4th of July) to pass without manifesting their feelings by some token of mourning and of sympathy.

“ The distance being too great to allow of their placing their memorial offerings (floral or other) on the grave of the mighty propagandist, they have determined to assemble at the statue of Diderot, who also was an illustrious forerunner of anarchism, as

## avis.

Des camarades fidèles au souvenir informent tous ceux, pour qui **Ravachol** n'eut d'autre impulsion : que l'Amour du **Misèreux**, qu'ils ont décidé de ne laisser passer l'anniversaire de son martyre, (le mardi 11 juillet prochain), sans lui témoigner leur sentiment de **Deuil** et de **Solidarité**.

Or, n'étant pas à proximité de la sépulture de l'immense propagateur, pour y déposer l'objet de leur mémoire, (ont fleurs ou autre), ils ont choisi le monument de **Diderot**, cet autre illustre précurseur de l'**Anarchie**, comme le fut d'ailleurs tout penseur à quelque temps qu'il ait appartenu.

Quant à **Diderot**, suffisamment affirmé dans ses œuvres, dont entre autres cette maxime :

« La Nature n'a fait ni serviteurs, ni maître ; je ne veux, ni donner, ni recevoir de lois ».

Donc, pour tous ceux dont l'assentiment est que l'**Anarchie** n'est autre que l'**Humanité** ayant trouvé sa voie :

Venez-vous à la statue au ci.  
libre philosophe, nise Boul. St Germain,  
le **Dimanche 9 juillet**, ce pour faciliter  
les camarades que les occupations pourraient  
retenir le **Mardi 11** ;

. Imprime par l'initiative individuelle

FACSIMILE OF THE AUTOGRAPH INVITATION TO ANARCHISTS TO  
ATTEND A DEMONSTRATION ON THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF  
THE EXECUTION OF RAVACHOL.

indeed has been every thinker to whatever age he belonged.

"The writings of Diderot speak for themselves, we give a single quotation: 'Nature made neither servant nor master; I wish neither to impose nor to submit to laws.'

"Let all those, then, who believe that the problem of the future of humanity is solved by anarchism, assemble at the statue of the famous philosopher on the Boulevard Saint-Germain, on Sunday, the 9th of July. This date is chosen for the convenience of comrades whose occupations might prevent them attending on Tuesday, the 11th.

"Issued by individual initiative."

The party theorists, and with them the *Révolte*, while not venturing to protest against this worship of Ravachol watched its growth with anything but enthusiasm. They judged rightly that this delirious beatification of a criminal, followed as it probably would be by similar honours accorded to saints of a like calibre, could only compromise the party in the eyes of more sober-minded persons. The execution of Vaillant put an end to their embarrassment. Here was a martyr who could not be reproached with murder, robbery, or the profanation of tombs. It is open, at least to an anarchist, to consider his character stainless, and the comrades have not been slow to proclaim his virtues. They took the earliest possible opportunity of showing that they intended to honour his memory. His grave was covered with flowers only a few hours after his burial. A little later, in spite of the precautions taken to prevent the recurrence of such demonstrations, a large branch of palm



PORTRAIT OF RAVACHOL TAKEN FROM A PRINT IN CIRCULATION  
AMONGST THE ANARCHISTS.



garlanded with red silk was found embedded in the freshly raised mound. Over the ribbon, fixed to the bough with a pin, was an illuminated card inscribed with the following stanzas: "Since at break of day the earth drank in thy hallowed life-blood, a blessed purifying dew, you may sleep a calm sleep beneath the palm foliage, the offering of outraged justice. Martyr thou wilt be avenged."

Around the palm were a profusion of red-and-white immortelles, pots of heliotrope and pansies, and bouquets of lilac, white camelias, and cloves. A few days later a laurel was planted by the side of the palm. Before long an organised procession of some thirty persons, headed by the writers on the staff of the *Revue libertaire*, visited the grave. Short speeches were made in praise of the lamented martyr, whose death, it was claimed, would hasten the dawn of the era when mankind would be delivered for all time from the laws that hindered the march towards perfection of the individual, and from the prejudices that barred the way to progress. Before the meeting broke up, it visited the spot where the sawdust had been thrown in which the head and trunk of Vaillant had lain, the persons present religiously collecting and carrying away with them every particle of the material they could light on.

The following Sunday twelve enthusiasts, of whom one was a young woman, deposited on the mound a large wreath of yellow immortelles with the inscription, "*In memoriam.*" A small tombstone bearing the words: "*Labor improbus omnia vincit*," was found side by side with a bouquet of violets wrapped in vellum on which this verse was written: "A murky sky, bloodstained, was the dawn, the dawn decked of wont

with joyous rose tints, that broke at the voice of destiny in a livery of shame to light eyes that death was about to close."

Other significant inscriptions were: "Thy body is the earth's, thy soul is in heaven, mine thy memory;" and, "Glory to thee who wast great; I am but a child, but I will avenge thee."

Visitors continued to flock to the place of Vaillant's burial throughout the afternoon of this Sunday that will not soon be forgotten by the anarchists. With bared heads they stepped up to the grave-side, and placed their wreaths on the mound, or threw on it cards inscribed with vows of vengeance. A group of socialists, their leaders, among whom was M. Coutant, deputy of the Seine, flying the red flag, deposited a wreath of immortelles, and a young woman in deep mourning, a crown of thorns. Not till night-fall was the burial-ground deserted.

This martyr-worship is not the only outcome of twenty years of anarchism. The agitation has had other results, which are more interesting and more original if not more curious or astonishing. We allude to the various attempts that have been made to put in practice the theories, or at least a portion of them, which are to obtain when anarchism has triumphed.

One of the first of these experiments dates back some nine years. In 1885, on the occasion of a strike among the tailors of Paris, a few of the men set on foot a workshop conducted on communist lines. The profits received were divided equally among those who joined the movement, the sick, the old, and the unskilled drawing the same sum as the best hands. The undertaking came to an untimely end after

existing a little over a year. According to the master tailors internal dissensions were the cause of its collapse. The anarchists, on the other hand, assert that it would have flourished had the master tailors not vowed its destruction, and resorted to every artifice to effect their purpose.

Greater success has attended the efforts of M. Regnier, a son-in-law of Elisée Reclus, who has founded at Tarzout in Algeria an agricultural colony in which the precepts of anarchism are put in practice, M. Regnier was educated as an architect, and exercised his profession for a time at Algiers. Disliking the restraints of life in a large town, he decided to establish himself as a colonist on the outskirts of civilisation. To this end he purchased some land in the neighbourhood of Tarzout, an out-of-the-way locality in a remote district of Algeria, inhabited solely by an Arab population, and exceedingly difficult of approach.

At the outset of his experiment, M. Regnier was entirely without assistance. He slept in the open air until he had constructed an unpretending hut. After he had satisfied himself that the soil was suited for cultivation, he decided to settle on the spot and build himself a house. Owing to the difficulty of transport the task was not a light one, but it was at length accomplished, and M. Regnier sent for his family to join him.

They have proved the nucleus of what is now a thriving settlement. One by one fresh colonists have arrived, friends of the family in the first instance, then the relatives and friends of the new-comers, and finally strangers, for the most part destitute persons who have applied for work and food. M. Regnier's system has been to give every applicant a trial. The only

obligation incurred by the would-be colonists is that they are expected to work.

Tarzout is at present a populous village, with a good and well-attended school. Every form of agriculture allowed by the climate is pursued by the community. The grape is grown, crops and vegetables are raised, and sheep and cattle kept. A road, entirely constructed by the settlers, connects the estate with the small town of Cavaignac, and before long an elaborate system of irrigation will be in full working order.

The relations between the colony and the native Arabs are excellent. Trade is brisk between them and the settlers, markets being held regularly. A significant detail may fitly conclude our account of this prosperous undertaking. M. Regnier has won the confidence of the Arabs to such an extent—he speaks their language fluently—that they have insisted on his acting as their banker. An anarchist banker is a phenomenon that is worth recording.

Before relating the history of another attempt at colonisation undertaken by professed anarchists, mention may be made of a curious and suggestive petition presented not very long ago to the French Chamber of Deputies. It ran as follows :—

“ R. Luminais, an inhabitant of Nantes, begs that all persons professing anarchist or socialist opinions may be transported to Dahomey.”

Some people may be tempted to consider the idea a luminous one, but the anarchists have not awaited the advent of enforced emigration to shake the dust of civilisation from their feet and journey into a far country. In several instances they have made the experiment of their own initiative of settling in remote quarters of the globe, either singly or in

groups. Vaillant, to whom the honours of martyrdom have since been meted out, made an effort to found an anarchist colony at Santa Fé. In the autumn of last year a band of anarchists sailed from France to Paraguay in the hope of finding a tract of country where an anarchist settlement might be established on a large scale. It is well known that Paraguay, a country admirably adapted in many respects for purposes of colonisation, has been successfully opened up in the past by the Jesuits, and it would be curious if the disciples of a very different gospel were to follow in the footsteps of these early settlers.

The most important, however, of the colonising efforts of the anarchists has been that directed to the establishment of the Cecilia settlement. The interest attached to this undertaking is so considerable, from the light it throws on the views of the anarchists in practical matters, that we furnish a detailed account of the enterprise taken from a pamphlet published at Genoa by an Italian anarchist Dr. Giovanni Rossi, who was himself one of the Cecilia colonists.

On the 20th of February, 1890, the steamer *Citta di Roma* put out from Genoa having on board a small band of hardy pioneers bound for Brazil where they proposed to found an anarchist community on virgin soil. Circumstances over which they had no control led them on their reaching their destination to settle in the neighbourhood of Palmeira in the Brazilian state of Parana.

The land they occupied, a stretch of prairie on the confines of a wood, was situated on the slopes of a lofty range of hills, and was wild and quite uncultivated. The climate of the region is mild and

healthy. The new-comers took possession of a ruined dwelling which they were fortunate enough to find on the outskirts of an orange wood.

It was early in April, 1890, that the colonists began their labours. Their first concern was to clean and repair the building in which they were to reside. They slept on a litter of fern, covered by their cloaks. The most urgent improvements were proceeded with without delay. A fireplace was constructed, the ground in the immediate neighbourhood of the house was cleared, several springs of water were dammed up and shooting parties supplied the settlers with fresh meat.

A number of indispensable articles of furniture were next manufactured, a task which was not completed for several months. The colonists gradually provided themselves with hammocks, mattresses, and light coverlets. They laid out a kitchen garden, planted vines, potatoes, and beans, and cut a quantity of wood with part of which a new dwelling was to be erected, while with the remainder a fence was built as a protection against wild beasts.

On the whole the settlers had every reason to be satisfied with the result of their labour, more especially as they were all of them unskilled at work of the kind, and several of the party had lost heart owing to the strangeness of their surroundings, and were unable to render much assistance. The community recognised no leaders, had no code of rules, and indeed was without any system of social organisation. The proceedings of the colonists were sometimes decided by friendly agreement, at others each individual did what his fancy dictated. Disputes were of frequent occurrence, but their consequences

## THE MINE.

“Those who live on it.”



“Those who find their death in it” (*Père Peinard*).

were never serious. One member of the society at this period was a criminal who had been sentenced for robbery and manslaughter, but far from being an incubus he was the most skilful and untiring worker of the community.

From September, 1890, to January, 1891, the cultivation of the soil was actively carried on without dissensions of any gravity. In the latter month several peasant families joined the colony, and they were at once in disagreement with the original settlers owing to their different habits of living and the obstinacy with which they persisted in following the methods of culture to which they were accustomed. However the work of the settlement still progressed, and the construction of central barracks to house the entire community was begun. Several of the colonists assisted in the making of roads, which the Brazilian government had consented to assist in opening.

In March, April, and May, 1891, small bands of fresh emigrants arrived in quick succession, till in all there were over 150 persons at Cecilia. This unforeseen increase of numbers proved disastrous. Many of the new-comers were unfit to stand the rough life of the pioneers. A large proportion of them were factory hands, whom the absence of raw materials and the necessary appliances prevented from exercising their industry for the benefit of the community. A few were incapable of turning their hands to any useful employment. At the same time, the food supply was inadequate for the needs of the expanded population. Insufficient housing accommodation was a further difficulty, and the new arrivals were forced to seek shelter as best they could.

At this juncture the colony agreed to engage a



portion of its members in roadmaking for the Brazilian Government. The money received from this source enabled the settlers to obtain credit from the tradesmen of Palmeira, who consented to furnish them with provisions. The supplies obtained in this way were, however, both insufficient and intermittent, the result being that while some of the party were well provided with necessities others were in want.

It is rare that men who are suffering privations preserve their evenness of temper, and the harmony of the settlement was frequently disturbed during this period of excessive hardships. Family jealousy was at the root of most of this unfortunate bickering, which, it should be noted, never degenerated into violence, thanks to the entire liberty of action enjoyed by everybody, and the absence of any system of police. Throughout these critical months in spite of murmurs and discontent the work of the colony was not seriously interfered with. Though half starved the men would look up from their labour and declare, as they caught sight of the red and black flag that floated constantly over a palm tree: "After all a man can exist with a little polenta and an ideal."

A description of plebiscite was now in force in the community, but it was conducted in a way that made it a nuisance rather than a benefit. Valuable time was wasted in useless discussions, from which nothing came but decisions it was impossible to carry into effect, and wordy deliberations that invariably ended in smoke. All the members of the society professed to be anarchists, but the conception many of them had of the doctrine was curious in the extreme.

"Teach me how to work in the fields," a baker's assistant would say to an aged peasant.

"We are not supposed to teach anybody anything. Every one does as he pleases," would be the reply of the old man, who fancied that his answer did credit to his acquaintance with the first principles of anarchism.

In justification of any capricious act, men were often heard to declare:

"I do what I choose as anarchism directs."

The discontent culminated in June, 1891, by the withdrawal from the community of seven families that had been at Cecilia from the first. They took their departure in a body, declaring their intention of starting a fresh colony at a distance under more favourable conditions.

A number of the younger men among those who remained, banded together to carry on the enterprise on what they considered improved lines. The minority who disapproved of this scheme seceded leaving the reformers free to prosecute their plans. Their programme was simplicity itself. They were to work assiduously until they had set aside a reserve stock of provisions and necessities sufficient to justify them in inviting others to join the colony, who would thus be provided for until able to support themselves. For the most part they were artisans ignorant of agriculture and unaccustomed to country life. Still they set to work in such earnest that in a few days they had cleared and sown with rye a large plot of land. Their next venture was a field of potatoes. They reorganised the kitchen garden which had been allowed to go to rack and ruin, felled a quantity of timber and fenced in a considerable area of prairie



“There’s no alternative. Rob the rich or commit suicide” (*Pierre Feinard*).

land. The work accomplished by the group in a short space of time gave such promise for the future that four families of the original colony asked to be allowed to throw in their lot with them. The request was acceded to, and the rejuvenated settlement was organised on purely anarchist principles.

Scrupulous care was taken that no one individual should represent the entire body in its relation with the outside world. Whenever signs appeared that a particular person was acquiring a preponderating influence in the community, this semblance of authority was rigorously suppressed. The terms "employer" and "leader" were regarded as insults. The illusory plebiscite that had hampered the society in an earlier stage of its existence was abolished. Nothing in the shape of a binding agreement, of fixed hours for the performance of prearranged tasks, of social obligations, or of a predetermined rule of life or labour was tolerated. The sight of a companion at work was enough to induce his comrades to follow his example. It was clear to all that incessant activity was the only way out of a situation beset with difficulties, and no one manifested the least desire to be idle. They worked separately or in concert as the circumstances suggested. They took their meals when hungry and slept when tired. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed, every one having the success of the enterprise at heart. The greatest good-humour prevailed, though animated controversies were of constant occurrence, but as they were always settled amicably they did no harm except to cause an appreciable loss of time. These discussions were especially lively of an evening, when the encampment presented the appearance of a revolutionary club.

Several families of peasants arrived at the colony in 1891. The first to come made only a short stay, but a second batch of emigrants agreed to remain in the settlement to which they proved a great accession of strength. In December the rye and potatoes were harvested and maize and potatoes sown on an extensive scale. The opening months of 1891 saw a portion of the community employed at road-making on behalf of the Brazilian Government. Their earnings supported their comrades engaged in fencing in the land that had been brought under cultivation. Another party constructed a dyke to enclose the water required to work a mill. A quantity of fodder was cut, an oven built, and a well was dug. The colonists had every reason to be proud of the results that had attended their arduous efforts, and in their case at least they could say with justice that a state of anarchism was not synonymous with a state of idleness as the opponents of the doctrine are fond of asserting it would be.

In April the beans were harvested, and a cart road made over the hill planted with maize, which was gathered in in the following month. At the same time another well was dug out of the live rock. June and July were passed in preparing the land to receive the rye crop, and in planting a number of orange and other fruit trees. Timber felling in the forest was the principal work of the three succeeding months. Vines, tapioca, and Spanish potatoes were planted in November. Towards the end of the year there were a number of new arrivals at the colony which on the 31st of December numbered sixty-four inhabitants. At this date the total wealth of the community, which had been increased by the manu-

facture of shoes and packing cases, was estimated at £384.

The work at Cecilia was carried on without regulations of any kind. The volunteers who devoted themselves to agricultural pursuits found no difficulty in arranging amongst themselves the task of each individual. The absence of any directing authority was not felt to be an inconvenience. Every one knew what had to be done, and frequently no discussion was required as to how the day should be employed. Supposing similar operations were to be conducted on a larger scale there is no reason to think that it would be either necessary or desirable to introduce a system of working by definite, pre-established rules. Horticulture would be carried on by the volunteers adopting a division of labour suggested by their inclinations and the circumstances of the case. As the number of gardens increased, those employed in them would still be able to settle by mutual agreement how they could be attended to to the best advantage, or they would group themselves in accordance with the disposition of the land, or, preferably, as Fourier has suggested, by devoting themselves to special forms of cultivation. The same method is universally applicable. It was practically tested at Cecilia when the settlement undertook the manufacture of packing cases.

This enterprise was thus conducted. When the weather was favourable, two of the younger members of the association made their way to the forest, where they picked out and cut down a pine tree suited to their purpose. They had next to saw the trunk into staves and planks. After several days or weeks of this labour they would inform their comrades that



“ The father is away serving his time in the army, so the pawn-shop does a brisk business ” (*Père Peinard*).

they had accumulated a considerable stock of raw material. The strongest colonists undertook to transport it to the cart-road, whence another set of volunteers loaded it on trucks and conveyed it to the factory. Here too a mutual understanding decided how the work should be proceeded with. No one was so foolish as to attempt tasks he was incapable of performing, though the skilled hand was always glad to instruct the novice. When sufficient cases had been completed, a companion took them into Palmeira, sold them, and with the money thus obtained purchased provisions for the colony.

In conclusion, every member of the settlement does what work he can, and as much work as he can. Even the women and children are always busy over such tasks as they can perform. It is impossible to conceive a simpler or more natural state of things. Its result is general contentment. No one is in doubt as to his needs, or as to how to satisfy them. Every one is guided in his conduct by common sense, and this is the secret of the harmony that prevails.

The writer has conversed with several settlers who have returned to Europe from Cecilia, and their account of the colony has been less enthusiastic than the above. Their statements are borne out by the latest news of the venture which is on the eve, if these rumours are correct, of final collapse.

The anarchists must be easily contented if they find any grounds for satisfaction in the results of their agitation. Look where they will they are confronted by failure. Their policy of violence has been signally unsuccessful. The innocent victims they have slaughtered, the dismal series of senseless outrages



in which they profess to glory, has made them the object of general execration. By their excesses they have defeated their own ends. Until they embarked on a course as dastardly as it must be ineffective, they enjoyed the large measure of toleration which the spirit of the age accords to the expression of opinion however subversive of the established order ; to-day, as the penalty of political insanity, they are a hated and hunted sect. Their newspapers are suppressed, their freedom of speech is at an end, and their propaganda at a standstill. At liberty to persuade, they chose to force, as if society were a bubble that could be pricked by the point of a pin. Such a delusion can only be short-lived.

## *ANARCHISM IN ENGLAND.*

BY

RALPH DERECHÉF.

WITH rare exceptions Englishmen have held aloof from the anarchist movement. This indifference, not to say hostility, may be due in part to the fact that the birthplace of the agitation was, as we have seen, the Continent. The race has ever been slow to adopt the political ideas of foreigners, at least in their integrity. Even where the influence of such ideas has been considerable, they have always been modified and remoulded before finding a qualified acceptance in this country. Although the foundation of the International excited a measure of interest in England, where the association counted a certain number of adherents, it was not to be expected that the rivalry of Karl Marx and Bakounine, of which it was impossible to foresee the far-reaching consequences, would be closely followed on this side of the Channel. It may safely be said, that all but an infinitesimal minority of Englishmen were ignorant of the very existence of the anarchist party, until it embarked on that policy of violence which has brought it universal notoriety. It is only quite recently that the English

newspapers, usually so well informed, have devoted any but the scantiest attention to the doings of the anarchists.

The paltry results obtained by the party in England are also to be traced to the personal insignificance of the few native converts it has made. The agitation professes to dispense with any kind of leadership, but it is certain it would never have made the progress it has, had it not been for the influence exerted by a handful of men of talent who are in fact, if not in name, at its head. Whatever may be the destiny of anarchism in England, it is hardly likely to be brilliant, unless the movement produces a spokesman of the calibre of Elisée Reclus, Jean Grave, Kropotkine, or even Emile Pouget. The doctrine, at present, is in the position of a gospel without a prophet, for the vast majority of our countrymen will never be convinced of the excellence of a faith with whose principles they can only become acquainted through the medium of translations.

Still, though the headway made by anarchism in Great Britain has been slight, the attitude of England has had an important bearing on the history of the cause. At the same time there has been a tendency to exaggerate the consequences of the line of conduct adopted by our Government in dealing with the anarchists. The Continental press has persistently upbraided the English authorities for granting the right of asylum to "companions" in flight, and for refusing to meddle with emigrants, who, if not a menace to the land in which they had taken refuge, were avowedly plotting against the peace of other countries. In reality, the liberty of action enjoyed in England by the anarchists has always been less

than has been represented—the prosecution of Most, to which we shall return, may be cited in this connection—and moreover, it is doubtful whether the influence of the refugees in fomenting disturbances abroad has not been overestimated. It may certainly be questioned whether the toleration accorded the anarchists in England ever equalled that extended them until recently in France. For instance, had a paper on the lines of *Père Peinard* been published in English in London, it is improbable that several years would have elapsed before its suppression.

The first anarchists to take up their residence in England were Germans. One of them, Johann Most, was not long in drawing attention to his presence. Most, who had been expelled from Berlin as a dangerous demagogue, arrived in London in December, 1878. He at once made the Social Democratic Working Men's Club his head-quarters. This club had been founded as far back as 1848 by several German revolutionists, including Karl Marx, Engels, and Runge, who had been forced to fly their country. Its members, when Most appeared on the scene, were several hundred in number, divided into four sections, but among them were few persons of any importance. In consequence it was not difficult for Most, a comparatively well-known character, to acquire a commanding influence over this band of mediocrities, who were eager to range themselves under a leader of some renown. Presided over by Most, the club continued in name a social democratic association, but it soon displayed pronounced anarchist leanings. Most lost no time in getting to work. A scheme for a party organ had long been on foot, and he proceeded at once to carry it into effect. On the 3rd of January,

the month after his arrival, appeared under his editorship the first number of *Freiheit*,<sup>1</sup> a paper written in German and exceedingly violent in tone. There seemed to be every prospect of its career being nipped in the bud, owing to lack of funds and insufficient support. Its circle of readers in London was necessarily very limited, and most of the copies printed found their way into Germany, where its subscribers slowly, but surely, increased. *Freiheit* was published at this period from the single room which Most occupied at the modest rental of seven shillings a week. The skill and energy of the pilot enabled it to weather the storms in which it threatened to founder during the earlier months of its existence. When the promoters of the journal succeeded in purchasing their own type and in setting it up themselves, its continued appearance was ensured.

For a considerable time no attempt was made by the authorities to interfere with its issue. This immunity was doubtless due to some extent to the fact that it was printed in a foreign language. On the other hand, every effort was made to put down the circulation of *Freiheit* in Germany. The action of the police in that country was not to be wondered at, considering the inflammatory contents of the paper. Londoners would probably have been surprised to learn that a journal was appearing in their midst containing passages of which the following, taken from the number for December 18, 1880, is a fair sample:—

“‘Exterminate the contemptible breed,’ runs the chorus of a revolutionary song. Such will be the cry, when the battle has been fought and won, of the leading spirits of the victorious proletarian army.

<sup>1</sup> *Freedom*.

At critical moments the revolutionist must never lose sight of the scaffold. He must either cut off the heads of his foes or lose his own. . . .

“Science at the present day places means at our disposal which allow us to proceed safely, commodiously, and on a large scale, with the destruction of the beasts of prey. Princes, ministers, statesmen, bishops, prelates, a good proportion of the officers of the army, the greater part of the higher officials, various journalists and lawyers, and, in fine, all the important representatives of the aristocrat and capitalist classes, are the personages on whose backs we have a stick to break.”

Most did not confine his activity to the writing of incendiary articles, though the greater portion of the matter in *Freiheit* came from his passably venomous pen. In 1880 he founded the United Socialists' Association. Under his guidance the title of this body was soon, if not from the first, a misnomer, the policy that found favour with its adherents being unmistakably anarchist in tendency. Admission to this group was easily obtained, and it occurred to its organiser that the publicity attached to its proceedings was too great to make its participation advisable in all the schemes he had on foot. He therefore established a society, known as the Propagandist Group, to which access was more difficult. The spread of anarchism was the immediate concern of this inner circle of the approved and trusted friends of that doctrine. A number of pamphlets were issued under its auspices, all of them intended for circulation in Germany. For one of the most important of these publications, “*Tactics versus Freedom*,” Most himself was responsible.

The career of this indefatigable agitator received a sudden check in 1881. The front page of the issue of *Freiheit* for the 19th of March was enlivened by a red border, in honour, as it appeared from a perusal of the paper, of the outrage which resulted in the death of the Tsar Alexander II. The number contained an article from the pen of Most, headed, "At Last," and opening with the words, "Triumph! Triumph!" The writer proceeded to extol the murder of the Russian Emperor as a glorious and incomparable deed that would count among the most illustrious achievements of humanity. This exordium was followed by a character of the assassinated Tsar conceived on lines of the most virulent invective, and the expression of the hope that the outrage would not be the last of its kind. The English authorities thought it time to put a stop to the publication of such dangerous stuff. Most was tried on a charge of libelling the Tsar and inciting to murder. He was found guilty and sentenced, much to his astonishment, to sixteen months' hard labour. No notice was taken of his demand that he should be treated as a political offender, and he served his time as a common convict, picking oakum, and being subsequently set to rough tailoring. On his release he betook himself to America.

*Freiheit* was carried on during the imprisonment of Most by two of his disciples, Schwelm and Merten. Undeterred by the example of their chief, they thought fit to write in terms of approbation of the Phoenix Park murders. Public opinion ran too high at the time to allow of such conduct being overlooked, and both men were criminally prosecuted. Schwelm was sentenced to eighteen and Merten to three

months' hard labour. This blow was decisive to the fortunes of the paper, which was henceforth published in Switzerland.

Most's imprisonment prevented his presence at an anarchist congress held in London shortly after his condemnation. Forty delegates attended this gathering, which was virtually under the presidency of Prince Kropotkine. The place of meeting was changed from day to day, with a view to baffling the police. The principal question under discussion was the advisability of the party resorting to acts of violence. The unanimous opinion of the assembly was in favour of such a course being adopted. Language of the utmost violence was indulged in, and the use of explosives was urged. Before the conference broke up it was decided to form a union of the revolutionists of all countries, with its headquarters in London, and branches in Paris and New York. The attitude of Kropotkine at this congress procured his expulsion from Switzerland.

After the disappearance of Most, the two most prominent anarchists in London were Peuckert and Victor Dave, a Belgian. The former was the founder of *Der Rebel*,<sup>1</sup> a paper with the same programme, and conducted in the same spirit, as *Freiheit*. The identity of views of the two journals did not prevent a keen rivalry existing between them, which found expression in mutual abuse, and in an effort to vie with each other in violence of language. This quarrel was warmly embraced by the London anarchists, the party opposed to Peuckert being headed by Dave, a man in many respects the superior of his antagonist. Dave had been associated with the anarchist party

<sup>1</sup> *The Rebel*.



from its very foundation, having met Bakounine in Switzerland in 1868. He was in Paris during the Commune, but escaped to London after the collapse of that movement, in which he had borne an active part. Well educated and of higher social standing than the majority of his comrades, he was one of Most's most trusted henchmen. The Peuckert faction professed to regard him as a spy, basing their accusation on the fact that his circumstances seemed comparatively affluent. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that there was any truth in the charge, which is one the anarchists commonly bandy about when at loggerheads amongst themselves.

Each of the rivals was the presiding genius of a club. The anarchist clubs have been an important feature of the organisation of the party in London. The first to be started met in premises in Stephen's Mews. The conflict between Peuckert and Dave induced both these agitators to establish a central meeting-place for their respective followers. Peuckert founded in Charlotte Street the Autonomie Club, which, it will be remembered, was raided by the police early in the spring of the present year. At 46, Whitfield Street, Victor Dave created the Communist Working Men's Club. Efforts were made to affiliate to the latter institution the handful of Englishmen who at this period professed anarchist opinions. An English section of the club was organised, and it was attempted to issue an English edition of *Freiheit*. Very moderate success attended these endeavours. The English section was soon dissolved, and the career of the newspaper was equally brief.

But the list of the anarchist clubs is not yet exhausted. What was to all intents and purposes a

branch of the Whitfield Street club was established at 49, Tottenham Street, under the title of the Social Democratic Communist Club. In Cable Street, a small thoroughfare turning out of Princes Square, there existed for some time a club known as The Dawn. Greater notoriety has attached to the anarchist club in Berner Street, Commercial Road. It was originally known as the Nihilist Club, and was founded by Russian refugees. The gulf between nihilism and anarchism is not great, the latter, indeed, including the former. The members of the Berner Street club were mainly recruited from the populous colony of foreign Jews that has settled in the East End of London. In April, 1891, the seventh anniversary of the foundation of this club was celebrated, one of the speakers remarking on this occasion that, though "the revolutionary movement among the Hebrews is of comparatively recent origin, at present wherever there are Jews, in London, America, Australia, Poland, or Russia, among those Jews will be found anarchists." To conclude this enumeration of the anarchist clubs, it may be said that in the earlier days of the agitation a sort of informal club was in the habit of meeting at a tavern in Sun Street, Finsbury, kept by a German of the name of Daubenspeck, who was a character in his way, being a poet as well as a publican.

It is doubtful whether these clubs were ever the hotbeds of conspiracy that has sometimes been represented. Certainly the "groups" with which France was honeycombed until the stringent repressive measures that have recently been put in force broke them up were far more dangerous. No doubt the members were all or nearly all professed anarchists;

but only a minority of them were militant "companions"—a very different matter.

The foundation, in 1884, of the Social Democratic Federation had a certain influence on English anarchism. The chief promoter of this association, which sprang from the Democratic Federation, in existence some two years previously, was H. M. Hyndman. The body, which had an organ of its own—*Justice*—distinctly disclaimed all connection with the anarchist party, but the agitation it conducted unquestionably assisted in the spread of extreme opinions. Advanced as the views of the Federation were, they did not satisfy a section of its adherents, who seceded in 1886, and established the Socialist League, under the leadership of William Morris, the well-known poet, Belfort Bax, and Dr. Edward Aveling. Branches of this league were formed in many of the larger English towns, and several of them, notably those at Bradford and Hull, soon displayed a marked leaning towards anarchism.

A number of years elapsed before the anarchist agitation in England again attracted public attention. London continued to be the resort of numerous foreigners associated with the cause, the majority of them Germans, but with a gradually increasing contingent of Italians and Frenchmen. Their activity was almost entirely confined to the printing of pamphlets and broadsheets for distribution abroad. Their influence outside the narrow circle of persons of their own nationality was slight. The headway made by anarchist doctrines among the English working classes was for long too insignificant to arouse the fears of the authorities. During the riots that marked the winter of 1886–7 an attempt was

made by the party to thrust itself into prominence, but with very little success. The anarchists have since persisted in their efforts to make capital out of the troubles in connection with the unemployed, but they have failed to identify themselves with the movement to any considerable extent. More recently, in the course of the meetings on Tower Hill, a few of the speakers have made a profession of anarchist opinions, only to meet, however, with very qualified support. So far the English malcontents have shown themselves decidedly hostile to the anarchists, who have on several occasions been roughly handled by the crowd. Even the South Audley Street riots, though undoubtedly a demonstration of a kind the anarchists are prone to incite, cannot for a moment be laid to their door.

To return to the chronological order of events. On the occasion of the condemnation to death of the Chicago anarchists, it was endeavoured to excite a movement in their favour in England. Still, the most prominent advocates in this country of a revision of their sentence—Dr. Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx Aveling—were careful to disavow all sympathy with anarchism. In an article, signed by Dr. Aveling and his wife, in the number for November, 1887, of *To-Day*, a socialist monthly, the writers essayed to prove that the disturbances at Chicago arose out of the hostility of the authorities to the eight hours' movement, and that the bomb which exploded with such murderous results was thrown by an agent of the police. They further contended that gross unfairness had marked the trial of the accused. On these grounds, they urged that the "English Radicals should strengthen the hands of their American

brethren by holding meetings and passing resolutions." This article was reprinted in pamphlet form, but it provoked very little enthusiasm.

There is, however, some evidence to show that the quadruple execution at Chicago, and the events which led up to it, drew attention in England to the anarchist doctrine. Several anarchist publications in the English language appeared about this period. The first in order of date was a newspaper, *The Anarchist*, edited by Henry Seymour, who laid claim to the title of the "Pioneer of Anarchy in England." *The Anarchist*, described as a "Revolutionary Review," was issued monthly, the price being twopence. *The Anarchist*, according to a statement of its editor, "advocates the abolition of the government of man by man, and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, and engages in the radical discussion of all their concomitant issues, and of their political and economic aspects, from the point of view of equity and individual liberty. Among those who have contributed to its columns may be numbered Prince Kropotkin, Elisée Reclus, George Bernard Shaw, Miss La Compton, Henry Appleton, Dr. Merlino, Lothrop Withington, Dr. Burns Gibson, Dr. Lazarus, Henry Glasse, Tchaikovsky," &c. Two, at any rate, of these contributors—Kropotkin and Dr. Burns Gibson—seem to have been dissatisfied with the conduct of the review, for they severed their connection with it, and founded *Freedom*, a monthly "Journal of Anarchist Socialism," of which the first number was issued in October, 1886.

The literary movement inspired in France by anarchism can hardly be said to have had a counterpart in England, unless it is permissible to cite the

works of William Morris in this connection. Probably few anarchists are aware that one of their number has ventured upon the publication of a volume of verse. In April, 1887, appeared the "Holy of Holies : Confessions of an Anarchist. Printed at Chelmsford, in Essex, by J. H. Clarke." The author of this book, of some fifty pages, in a red paper wrapper, has chosen to remain anonymous. The work is dedicated to "Violet," and contains forty-three sonnets, dealing for the most part, as far as their meaning can be ascertained, with no passion more destructive than love. Still, occasional references to revolutionary themes in a measure justify the subtitle, as will be seen from the two extracts we give. They are typical of the merits or demerits of the writer's style :—

" Freedom is come among us. Winged from hell  
 She rises, with the serpents in her locks.  
 Kings, priests, republics, with her fiery shocks  
 She breaks and scatters daily. This is well.

\* \* \* \* \*

' On, on, ye brave ! ' The battle thickens fast,  
 The dense battalions wait. By wall and moat  
 They hold their rows of steel against our throat,  
 And shower their hate upon us. The fire-blast  
 Full in our face in sheets of flame is cast,  
 And on our running blood the hell-hounds gloat.  
 'Tis well. Look up, and o'er our head see float  
 The banner of the future. They are the past.  
 Look up, calm eyes, and brows, a moment's gaze  
 On that, and laugh the whistling bullets by,  
 Comrades, and with a jest be it unfurled.  
 Then with shut lips we plunge into the blaze,  
 Then with a roar as of the crashing sky  
 We sweep the liar and coward from the world."

The majority of the unknown poet's lines are rather more incomprehensible than those we have quoted, so that, on the whole, its limited popularity is not surprising.

An equally curious work in prose—"The Theories of Anarchy and of Law: a Midnight Debate," by H. B. Brewster—dates from the same year. The book is in dialogue form, the discussion being carried on by personages styled respectively Ralph, Wilfrid, Lothaire, and Harold, who deliver themselves of stilted and very lengthy utterances, while straining after a profundity they never attain. The subjoined extract shows the author in a moment of comparative lucidity:—

"There are millions of men and women to-day who are morally starving, because they are not at their true work, and know not where to find it. Food in plenty is set before them, but it will not feed them. The entire system of ideas under which we live is a lie to them. . . . Our social institutions require dogmatic convictions and dogmatic characters; our forms of property and family can suit but such. And the care that bears so heavily on many of those to whom these forms are not suited, is that they see no way of stepping out of them without falling into the degraded condition of an adventurer, who understands nothing but his own personal interests. There is as generous an impulse and as true a feeling of a high, unselfish cause to defend among the enemies as among the friends of the law. Can you marvel that they should begin to count each other; that from all ranks, all countries, they should gradually muster together; men of serious aptitudes, various grievances, various

hopes, but all of them one at heart in this emancipation—which I believe you call Anarchy or Nihilism.”

Further on the writer remarks :—

“The instinct of love plays a great part in the rebellion we see growing around us against the law in all its forms.”

It will be found that this sentiment is insisted on in the chapter<sup>1</sup> on the psychology of the anarchist, which M. A. Hamon has written for the present work.

Henry Seymour, who has already been mentioned as the editor of *The Anarchist*, is also the author of at least two pamphlets. They are dreary productions, written in an involved and laboured style. Both of them are dated 1888. “Anarchy : Theory and Practice,” is preceded by the following quotation :—

“ All Nature’s elements are common rights,  
The light, the air, the ocean, and the soil :  
Who’s cheated of his rights can owe no duties ;  
Him whom no law protects, no law can bind.  
The social compact was not made for him,  
And just resistance is the right of slaves.”

After an unconvincing exposition of the theories of anarchism, the writer attempts to show how its prin-

<sup>1</sup> Page 219.



ciples may be put in practice. The subjoined extract is taken from the latter part of his work :—

“In the evolution of economic revolution, what methods are in the order of progress? The first move in the direction of anarchy would naturally assume the shape of an organisation of credit, labour, and exchange. This will have to be initiated by a considerable number of individuals, who are willing to co-operate their labour and its produce for themselves alone. They will thus obviate the necessity of having to submit to the monopoly of the market in the regulation of their productions and prices, putting an end to profit, the full price going to the producer as wages. Producing for themselves in this way, they also obviate the need of using a currency monopolised by law. . . .

“The next step would be an organised resistance to the landlord—a flat refusal to pay rent. If this is done on a sufficiently grand scale, the State would collapse of itself.”

Seymour's other pamphlet, “The Philosophy of Anarchism,” is a reprint of an address he delivered in October, 1887, before the London Dialectical Society. It is a pretentious, diffuse lucubration, quotation from which would serve no purpose.

A more vigorous enunciation of the anarchist doctrine, together with a scheme for its practical application, is contained in a pamphlet, “The Anarchist Plan of Campaign,” by D. A. Andrade, published in Melbourne, in 1888, but circulated to some extent in London. As the back page of this pamphlet resumes its contents, and is not without signifi-

cance, we reproduce it, preserving the arrangement of the matter followed in the original :—

*THE PRINCIPLES OF ANARCHY*

ESSENTIAL TO

THE HAPPINESS AND PROSPERITY OF SOCIETY.

---

LIBERTY.

Equal liberty for all ;  
Equal opportunity for all to work  
for their own sustenance without  
let or hindrance.

Freedom for every worker to exchange his pro-  
duct with other workers upon his own terms.

Security to the labourer in the possession of the whole of his  
product.

EQUALITY.

Freedom for every individual to think, speak, and act as he pleases.  
Resistance to all crime—crime being the prevention of others from think-  
ing, speaking, and acting as they please.

The utter abolition of all monopoly, all theft, all privilege,  
and all imposed authority.

The absolute sovereignty of every individual over  
himself.

The equality of the Sexes.

Voluntary Organisation.

LIBERTY.

FRATERNITY.

---

LIBERTY THE ALPHA AND OMEGA.

The literature within reach of the Englishman un-  
acquainted with foreign languages who wishes to  
acquire an insight into the principles of anarchism is  
restricted. The popular pamphlets, couched in plain,  
in too plain language, which have had so wide a  
circulation in France are not to be met with in  
England. Possibly the supply is equal to the  
demand ; but the propaganda has been immeasurably  
less active in this country than on the Continent.  
The would-be convert has little to fall back upon

beyond a few translations mostly of Kropotkin's works.

The most serious manifestation of anarchism in England occurred towards the close of 1891, when an anarchist conspiracy was discovered at Walsall. Six men, Frederick Charles, 27, a clerk; Victor Cailes, 33, an engine driver; John Westley, 32, a brush-maker; W. Ditchfield, 43, a filer; J. T. Deakin, 33, a clerk; and Jean Battolla, 30, a shoemaker—were brought to trial on this occasion. Charles, Battolla, and Cailes was sentenced to ten, and Deakin to five years' penal servitude. Westley and Ditchfield were acquitted. The judge observed that the prisoners were not condemned as anarchists, he having no concern with their opinions. They were punished because they had been found in possession of bombs, which the evidence showed it had been their intention to use for the destruction of human life and property. Whether the bombs were to have been used in England or abroad was not the point. In either case the intentions of the prisoners were equally criminal. The purpose of the accused was cruel, wherever it was to have been carried into effect, and it was at this cruelty that the sentences passed were aimed.

Battolla, in an attempt to justify his action, began by declaring that as men were at present disposed to trample the word anarchy under foot, he would vindicate its character and own he was an anarchist; but by humane methods to benefit humanity and elevate labour. He went on to observe that the counsel for the prosecution, who had stated that anarchism was equivalent to disorder, evidently did not know what the doctrine really was. It was nothing of the kind. It meant a state of society in which men lived to-

gether in harmony without laws. The anarchists, instead of standing up for a few, stood up for humanity itself, and yet they were styled blood-thirsty. They bade workmen, instead of drinking at the beerhouse, study society. By doing so, they would see that it was based on hypocrisy, fraud, and assassination, and brought mankind to hate each other. He stood there, not as a prisoner, but as an accuser of this bourgeois society. He accused it of all the murders prompted by want, and all the suicides. That was why he was an anarchist.

This trial, together with that which shortly followed it of the editor of the *Commonweal*, an anarchist newspaper, for inciting to murder the Home Secretary, Sir Henry Hawkins, and Inspector Melville, in his comments on this very Walsall affair, is proof that the anarchist agitation has some few adherents in the country who are not foreigners. Nothing would delight the party more than to strengthen its ranks with English recruits, but proselytes up to now have been hard to come by, in spite of the efforts that have been directed to this end. Anarchist manifestoes in the English language have of late increased in number. We reproduce a handbill issued in 1893, in connection with the labour demonstrations on the 1st of May. It is printed in parallel columns in French and English, the latter version running as follows :—

#### “ WORKERS.

“ Three years ago, this date, *the 1st of May*, flung into the air by an unknown socialist, and enthusiastically adopted by the proletariat, startled hearts in every country in the world. It appeared as a signal for combat—for struggle anonymous and without

leaders, yet universal—waged against Capital and against Power.

“And on that day, energetic acts took place in France, in Austria, in Italy, in Spain ; causing the exploiting class to tremble. Everywhere the oppressed felt solidarity amongst themselves.

“Since then the parliamentary socialists, entering into parley with the enemy without even any opposition, have endeavoured to deprive the 1st of May of its militant character. They have wished to turn it into a holiday : a *holiday* ! as if Labour crushed by a parasite capitalism, could hold high holiday over its own slavery !

“On the other hand, sincere combatants, who know that revolutions do not confine themselves to fixed dates—just when power, well in its guard, has taken all precautions and doubted its police and military—have deprecated all demonstrations on the 1st of May.

“What shall we do ?

“In our opinion, comrades, there can be but one reply :—no festivity ! no farce of delegated workmen going to beg of the public powers some miserable reduction of the hours of labour leaving intact the principle of exploitation by employers ; but demonstrations as energetic as circumstances permit ! Do not let us forget that the street is the battle-field of the people, there, where deeds of reprisal can be accomplished, be to the front ! Slaves of the factory, if, while awaiting better days, you wish to wring a few concessions from your exploiters, go and find them straightway, speak to them face to face, without applying first to that other exploiter the Government—the guardian by its very nature of ancient social iniquities. This government !—which you know only

through its taxes, its spies, its police, and its rifle-shots—ignore it, despise it, in expectation of the day when you shall be able to annihilate it.

“Rebellion need not wait for a 1st of May, but if on that day you find a propitious opportunity, then *revolt*. Individual acts—collective acts—all are good that lead to the same end. And if the police, or military preparations—the disproportion of opposing forces—oblige you to chafe at your curb, still, do not let your demonstration be a holiday! Let it be, at any rate, an international affair, asserting the solidarity of the proletariats of the whole world, making power and capital uneasy. Let it be, not the forgetting of your grievances, your wrongs, your oppression in the noise of songs and dance music, but the proud sounding of the clarion before the battle! Workers! disinherited! you who toil to maintain in luxury a handful of idlers! do not forget that between you and your enemies there can be no possible conciliation. You have to take back from them a whole world and its wealth, which they have stolen from you; you have to conquer your freedom, and your place as men. Friends! on the 1st of May, or on any other day, rise up against the class of the spoilers and cheer on

“THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION!!!

#### AN ANARCHIST GROUP.”

The great activity of the European anarchists during the past two years has directed public attention in England to the party, though the progress it has made in this country has continued to be insignificant compared to what it can point to on the

Continent. More has been heard of the anarchists, and the number of them at least, in London, has increased, but the men connected with the movement have been for the most part foreigners. So far, England has escaped the outrages which have horrified France and Spain. The bomb that brought about the death of Bourdin early in the present year may have been intended for use in this country ; but there is no positive evidence that this was the case. It is equally dubious whether the infernal machines, for whose manufacture Farnara and Polti were sent to penal servitude, were not destined for abroad. On the other hand, the sentences passed on these men show that the English authorities are determined to punish severely any effort on the part of the anarchists to carry into effect their programme of violence.

With respect to the position of the foreign anarchists who have crossed the Channel in search of a refuge, the very important utterance made by Sir John Bridge when granting the extradition of Meunier, who stands accused of complicity in the outrages at the Café Very and the Lobau barracks, must not be overlooked. This magistrate declared that "it is said that the prisoner's hostility to the Government makes his conduct, with regard to the attempted explosion at the barracks a political offence. On that question he entirely rests his defence. Hostility to all government is not, and cannot be to my mind an offence of a political character, and that I am told, is what the judges laid down in François' case. It would be a shocking thing for a man to go and destroy the lives of officers of a Government and then to escape by saying that he had a political object in view. I do

not want to lay down any rule as to what is an offence of a political character, but I say distinctly and emphatically, enmity to all government is not an offence of a political character."

It would be futile to attempt to prophesy what will be the future of anarchism in England ; but so far, Englishmen have shown scarcely any inclination whatever to adopt the doctrine, while the attitude of the populace at the time of Bourdin's funeral and on other occasions may be taken as showing that the classes most likely to embrace anarchist principles, at present detest and loathe them.

THE END.



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